

CHIROPRACTIC: On trial • BANK MERGERS: The battle begins

CANADA'S

WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

SEPTEMBER 21, 1998

STARR CROSSED

THE REPORT

'A strategy
of deceiving
the American
people'

THE AFFAIR

'I knew it
was wrong'

By Andrew Phillips

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This Week

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36 STARR CROSSED

The report on Bill Clinton's adultery with Monica Lewinsky isn't his last story—lots of and sex, phone sex, even cigar sex in the White House. But the President's delirious mind Ken Starr's charges do not justify removing the world's most powerful man from office.



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The four big banks with an urge to merge prepare themselves for the release this week of a bank force report on financial services.



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As friends and relatives of the victims of Sweater Flight 113 tried to cope with their loss, investigators continued the grim task of piecing together what caused the crash.



From The Editor

Why Clinton should resign



It is not just about sex. It is about a lack of character. It is about abusing power. It is about lying in court. Last week, William Jefferson Clinton, the 42nd president of the United States of America, was revealed for what he is, a liar and a creep. His legacy is forever tarnished by his lurid association with the Oval Office with a young intern and his desperate attempts to cover it up. His scruples, those that independent counsel Kenneth Starr, lacking any real evidence of wrongdoing, was not to embarrass Clinton about what the White House dismissed as "a private sexual relationship" (But Clinton asked for that when he lied in court about his relationship).

There, as his story began to unfold, he presided over the most sordid details of the coverage, just as Richard Nixon did after the Watergate scandal. For Clinton, the storm bells went off on January 17, 1998, during his deposition before Judge Susan Webber Wright in the Paula Jones sex harassment case. At the session, he was asked about his relations with other former employees. He said he could not recall being alone with Lewinsky and emphatically denied having sexual relations with her. The next day—Sunday—Clinton called Betty Currie, his secretary, to the White House for a late afternoon meeting to discuss his deposition. "There are several things you may want to know," he told Currie, at a distance of Wright's admonition that witnesses were "not to be speaking elsewhere about the questions they were asked." Clinton proceeded to rephrase lines with Currie: "You were always there when she was there, right? Monica came on to me, and I never touched her, right? You can see and hear everything, right?"



Lewinsky: Clinton covering up after affair



Torman Jordan to find Lewinsky a job at Heron Inc. even while he coached her on her upcoming testimony. Clinton forgot Herbert Hoover's words: "The presidency is more than an enormous responsibility. It is the conscience of all of us that is highest in American purpose and ideals." He should resign.

Robert Lewis

Newsroom Notes:

Sleaze in high places

Probably no report in history has ever had so much impact so quickly as independent counsel Kenneth Starr's 445-page conclusion of Bill Clinton's coverage of his affair with Monica Lewinsky. Thanks to the World Wide Web, the kind details of the President's sexual misadventure—and the grounds for impeachment—as defined by

Starr—were made instantly available around the world. Washington Bureau Chief Andrew Phillips assessed the reaction on Capitol Hill and at the White House last week. "Nothing has been so generally ex-



Woodward (left): Phillips' surprise and shock



pected this year as Starr's report. But when it was suddenly delivered to the Hill late on Wednesday afternoon, it took everyone by surprise," Phillips says. "It was clear that neither Congress nor Clinton's people were ready for it." And when the report was released on Friday, everyone scrambled to find it in the Internet. "The story has swamped everything else in Washington since January, but when the details were all put together they still had the power to shock." Phillips wrote the main cover story (page 36). The cover package was edited by World Editor Barton Woodward and designed by Art Director Nick Burnette.

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Football Academy in Calgary, different techniques

Learning to read

A year cover story "Why kids can't read" (Nov. 17) points out, the dyslexic brain is "wired differently." This makes it difficult for the dyslexic to master skills like reading, writing and calculation. But this different brain is superior to the average brain in other ways. The problem is that, in order to use their great brain, the dyslexic must first learn these basic skills—in a task that most will not accomplish without special help. As a young child, my son was hyperactive, inquisitive, determined, extroverted and inquisitive. At 7, neither of his parents could best him at chess, although he was still peters away from knowing it from D. At 13, still unable to tell time, he is an articulate, self-confident young man on the brink of an exciting future. Genevieve believes that when a "bad" gene is common in the population, at some point in time it evolves, possesses of that gene was actually advantageous for survival. If the advantage of the dyslexic gene is not obvious to us, perhaps it is because we non-dyslexics are so good at understanding the wonder of the dyslexic brain and its capabilities. Perhaps we can well help us understand. He's planning on becoming a psychologist.

J. M. Bensch,
Toronto

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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Thank you for "Growing up hyperactive." It was wonderful to finally read an article that solidified the medical condition of attention deficit hyperactivity disorder and concludes that "hyperactivity is the key component in dealing with hyperactive kids." The problem is that most people do not realize what a difficult job this is and are highly critical, leading these parents to become isolated because of negative feedback. I am part of a national nonprofit organization called Children and Adults With Attention Deficit Disorder, which supports families dealing with ADHD. We provide information on parenting techniques, educational options, medications and alternatives to medications. Every child is different and there are no easy answers, but just knowing you are not alone is often enough to give a person the will to keep trying.

Sharon LaFreniere
Calgary

The fact is that most school-age kids can read and many do read (though not as easily as one would wish). As for those who can't read, over 20 years of experience as a literacy educator convince me that for most such children the problem is more social/cultural than neurological. Some children come to school having been immersed in print and the language of books and story from birth. For others books and print are totally foreign and irrelevant. It's not hard to predict which children are likely to be reading casualties. Does this mean that there are no children whose difficulty in learning to read has a neurological basis? No, but I suspect their number is far smaller than the learning disabilities establishment would have us believe.

Robert Brannen
Edmonton

You report that, at last, after decades of trying to prove that learning disabilities exist, a researcher has demonstrated that "the reading path in the dyslexic brain is dramatically different from that of a normal reader." It is accurate to describe it as "different" but not unusual and necessary source of their beliefs. This is proof of a biological basis for dyslexia! At it really tells us that poor readers must not take advantage of the social-based nature of written language. If the poor readers had ever been taught how to sound out words, then it would make perfect sense why no normal readers' brains. Literally thousands

Reading and genes

The description of dyslexia as a genetic disorder is very troubling, like it is a species have only one defective gene. A general population requirement to be able to read in the last 100 years. It is thus interesting to note how a culture dependent is now being passed into a genetic disorder. Two issues need to be addressed. Assuming the differences in brain activity that the research demonstrates have come about as part of our evolutionary heritage, then the first question is: are there advantages to having your brain activity in the manner correlated with a diagnosis of dyslexia? The second question: how can the issue of teaching techniques? It is a basic tenet of education that people will have different learning styles and that at times will require different educational techniques. Is this not a global statement that would encompass the need for personalized teaching techniques, at times, for children with dyslexia? Such children then simply become one of many children, all with varying learning characteristics. Following up on these issues is one that is not addressed in the article: if the example programs are successful at teaching children diagnosed with dyslexia, then do the children's brain patterns then start to label the brain patterns of children with no reading problems? If so, the first question I posed becomes a very important social issue regarding the conservation of cognitive diversity. If the children's brain activity does not become synonymous with that of able readers, then what is the long-term research telling us regarding dyslexia?

Dr. Douglas Lee,
North Vancouver

of researchers have looked for a biological basis for learning disabilities. Not one has passed out. Today, there are no reasons to believe that there is such a thing as a learning disability. Taught properly, nearly every child is capable of learning to read fluently by the end of Grade 1. Educators have a choice. They can use proven teaching methods and have all children reading by the end of Grade 1, or use a variety of "learning methods" and label the students "learning disabled." According to your article, almost 50 per cent of adolescents who commit suicide have been previously diagnosed with learning disabilities. Perhaps option 1 would be preferable.

William D.
Ottawa
Ottawa University for Quality Education
Historic City

THE MAIL When 'right' matters

As a pharmacist working with student pharmacists in the field of medicine, I can help those who have learned in their school careers that the "one right answer" doesn't matter ("The new newness," Education, Aug. 17). In the calculation of a patient's dose of medication, the right answer matters. Calculating the wrong dose may have very serious consequences. Some young people may want to become doctors, pharmacists, pharmacy technicians or nurses—careers where right answers matter. I imagine that some other fields like engineering or business may also need high school graduates who care about the right answer rather than being rebellious. We are not helping students when we let them believe that creativity without basic skills will lead to successful lives.

James Whitlock
Port Perry, Ont.

I was glad to see Marianne's article about the new math curriculum that is sweeping the nation, but I was disappointed with the information provided. The article mentions that Marianne's daughter could not multiply 382 by 26 without using a calculator. The article leads the reader to believe that this is because she was allowed to use a calculator. This statement that "the school did not care" is a halfhearted math teacher. I take offence in this. I believe the school does care. Schools are following the curriculum that they are required to teach. Parents perceive this as not caring because students are not being taught what they level students should be taught. Yes, it is true that the new curriculum emphasizes more use of calculation for problem solving. In the real world, calculators are used as a tool as many jobs and professions. I agree that we need to help parents and the community understand what is being accomplished in the new math. However, I would like to see both sides of the issue represented, with illustrative comparisons between the old math and the new math. This would help in truly represent to the public what the new math is.

Terry Edwards,
Cold Lake, Alta.

Junk fax solution

Your article about junk faxes was well written and well researched ("Classical and often unwanted," Comm. Aug. 17). It was suggested, however, that junk faxes are a post-consumers will have to learn to live with. However, our company has a fax machine for outgoing faxes only and a separate line for inbound faxes which runs through a computer program that the Win-

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Wine Journalist & Columnist



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Harry F. Schneider
Toronto

Canadian cuisine

As a chef restaurateur, I am pleased that our excellent magazine has profiled Canadian cuisine and Canadian chefs ("Haute Canada," *Carey*, Aug. 30). For too long, our profession and our cooking have been low profile, but as you point out, many Canadians are still under the impression that food is great only if it comes from France, Italy or California. You could have mentioned that Canada's terra has twice been world champion, in 1984 and 1992, at the international Culinary Olympics in Frankfurt. This glad Canadian finally makes what the rest of the world has known for some time.

A. Gosselin
Brossard, Que.

You note that the donkey owned by chef Michael Stauder is named Neil Diamond for no apparent reason. The animal was born on our farm on May 24, 1992. He got his name in part because of a diamond-shaped blaze on his nose, which disappeared when he shed his baby hair. My daughter used to practice the chant for the upstairs balcony and our herd of 14 donkeys would line up at the fence and bawls and bawls after a practice. With mother, father, sister and son, they were along to a Neil Diamond tape. The donkey's name was an obvious choice.

Joe Lindholm
Montreal, Que.

Parents and teenagers

It is interesting to note that in a distribute against schools, Jane Flory does not mention the role of parents on "Teenage and Depression," *The Road Ahead*, Aug. 17. My husband and I, not just the schools, are responsible for developing the moral and ethical character of our daughter. We don't expect education to do our work for us. Perhaps this is where the problem really lies: If children are not given a strong sense of morals at home, what can education do? After all, who spends the most time with children today: parents or educators?

Elizabeth Gaudreau
Guelph, Ont.

I was truly offended and angered after reading Jane Flory's comments. Let's blame the education system for society's ills. Just as illogical—where are the parents in this picture? If society gives kids a strong sense



Stress at La Vecchia in Toronto. Canadians are realizing what the rest of the world knows

of information relevant to the child's request, which a phone call or personal interview enables them to refuse for greatest specificity. Even so, our library service librarians first agree the child to ask a physician about any concerns raised by the material received as well as by his or her state of health in searching for what is possibly useful. We hope to provide as ethical a service against the asbestos cloud in your article.

Willa Kay Lewis
Chatham, N.S.

Admiring allegiance

In your review of *Apr. Road: A Sense of Life* ("Queen of the cats," *Films*, Aug. 17), you designated a writer I've admired for more than 30 years. That rhetoric pursuit of self interest you say she promotes is what she thoroughly defines an allegiance to one's own creative best. Her heroes were architects, manufacturers, engineers, physicians, composers and writers, to name a few. Why should you designate such a thing?

David Willson
Tweed, Ont.

Great entertainment

Thanks for a great article on a great Canadian export, Cirque du Soleil ("Cirque du Soleil," *Carey*, July 27). When I saw the show at Las Vegas, I was absolutely in awe of what an extraordinary and creative show it was. When I am in Chicago I now visit it and tell people I know to see it, and not to waste their money on the rest of the show. Vegas has to offer. What I am proud of is that I heard of the show as first it is made in Canada. My home and native land.

Karen Shapira
Kennebec, N.S.

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WHAT MATTERS TO CANADIANS

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THE MAIL Referendum numbers

The editorial "Fifty-plus-one is not enough" (Sept. 7) is misleading. Since 1990, 17 provinces had no other choice but to vote for independence because the provinces and the Soviet Union were dissolving and there was no one from these "mother" countries spending millions during the referendum to say that they are the best countries in the world. Moreover, Lithuania declared its independence first and then held its referendum from which it excluded most of its Russian population. I would rather agree that 50-per-cent-plus-one of all eligible voters should be an acceptable majority. This would be easy to achieve by making it compulsory for all eligible Quebec voters to vote in the referendum. Such compulsory voting already exists in many countries, such as Australia and New Zealand.

Georgi Ponomarev
Ponomarev, Quebec

Pay equity appeal

I was deeply disturbed by the decision of the Liberal government to appeal the Human Rights Tribunal decision on the Public Service Alliance of Canada complaint ("The price of equity," Canada, Sept. 7). The preconditions of Bill Clinton pale in comparison to the Chinese women saving 200,000 women in one day. And let us not forget the women and those of us who support their struggle.

Melody Montgomery
Montreal, Que.

Congratulations to our federal government for having the courage to appeal the pay equity ruling. I could accept wage inequality if there was any evidence that men doing the same jobs were getting paid more, but that was never the issue here. In this case, the feminists, forever looking for ways to take advantage of the fault our politicians feel over the inequalities of the past, tend to find



The Road Ahead

Lower taxes to encourage innovation

We are treated to a litany of excuses for the Canadian dollar free-fall—Quebec, Asia, Russia, natural resource dependency, U.S. interest rates. Reform Party Leader Preston Manning in Hong Kong and the last guy on the stump, Finance Minister Jean Chrétien and Finance Minister Paul Martin would prefer we compare our currency to Indonesia's or Russia's, our relationship to the United States makes the greenback the only relevant standard for Canadians. Why then has the Canadian economy performed as poorly compared to our southern neighbor?

A major departure in economic policy started during the Trudeau years when Canada slid down the path towards a welfare state. In 1960, government at all levels accounted for 28.6 per cent of gross domestic product in Canada and, 27 per cent in the United States. By 1996, those shares had risen to 54.7 per cent and 53.3 per cent respectively.

This shift in power to government has given Canada the highest taxes in the hemisphere and one of the highest in the OECD countries. What is truly important, however, is the level of taxes in Canada compared to the south of the border. A U.S. entrepreneur establishing a new business gets to keep more of the value created in terms of business tax, personal income tax and capital gains tax. Furthermore, as U.S. taxes are being reduced, the comparison is becoming more obvious.

To make the big money, Canadian entrepreneurs must be allowed to have more income, full circles, high taxes drive out jobs, less jobs means less resources (taxes) from the

productive working economy, high unemployment weakens the economy, the currency of a less healthy economy loses value.

Maclean's quotes Martin as saying, "We have got to get ourselves more competitive from a tax point of view." But the policies he pursues show he is more concerned with the continued funding of a bloated public sector. It is no accident that the only meaningful job creation in Canada is in those provinces that have begun to attack the accepted wage level of taxation. If "Mr. Prud'homme" were truly prudent, he would be cutting the job-killing government insurance premiums, slashing the capital gains tax and setting an objective of making Canada a more attractive place to invest.

It will take a major effort to undo the disastrous economic policies introduced over the past three decades. But the effort will be worthwhile if Canadians see to again secure to a standard of living somewhat comparable to the Americans'—what steps need to be taken?

- Significantly reduce taxes and state an objective of further cuts to make Canada's tax levels competitive.
 - Substantially reduce the size of the public sector (not merely limit increases).
 - Promote greater transparency and accountability of health-care costs. They should be reviewed from general tax revenue and funded by a combination of a health-care tax and user fees.
 - Eliminate duplication in federal and provincial programs.
- There is a lot to be done, but the sooner it is started, the better off all Canadians will be.

The above ideas contain nothing to enhance greatly revenues to Canada's national and provincial treasuries. Unpublished submissions may be included as regular letters or appear as an editorial in another issue.

Georgi Brink,
St. George, Ont.

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Using your *in-tuition*SM

Learn how to cut \$43,000 from the cost of your child's education

All parents want the best for their children. You want to see them succeed by attending either university or college. But after making the mortgage and mortgage payments and covering the bills for back-to-school, how can you possibly do it?

Saving for your children's post-secondary education is easier than you think. *In-tuition*, a registered education savings plan (RESP) from Bank of Montreal's First CanadianSM Funds, can help you get started. *In-tuition* features an interactive dashboard that lets you develop a personalized education savings plan.

So how much is junior's post-secondary education actually going to cost? "Most people dramatically underestimate the future costs of a four-year undergraduate degree," says Ed Legrand, Chief Operating Officer, First Canadian Funds Inc. "College or

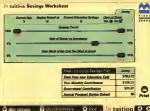
university will cost as much as \$75,000 in 18 years time."

Using the *In-tuition* dashboard you can determine how much your child's education will cost and calculate manageable monthly contributions. By using the on-screen worksheet you can adjust key variables which impact those costs. Variables include:

- current savings
- expected rate of return
- portion of education cost you'll cover
- length of savings period
- whether or not your child will live at home during college or university

The advantages of saving with *In-tuition* are clear. In addition to the benefits that all RESPs share – tax-deferred savings and government grants up to \$400/year – *In-tuition* gives you the growth potential of mutual funds with four fully diversified investment portfolios. Which portfolio you choose depends on your child's age and your personal risk tolerance.*

In-tuition helps you figure out how much you need to save and how to do it. Quite simply, *In-tuition* is the best way to save for your child's education.



Call us at 1-800-665-7700 or visit our website at www.bmo.com/Intuition

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^{*} Important information about the First Canadian Funds is contained in the simplified prospectus which should be read carefully before investing. A copy may be obtained from First Canadian Funds Inc. at branches of Bank of Montreal. The cost of the investment, return or profit of the Funds will fluctuate and a Fund's net asset value, when applicable, may not be maintained.

¹ Based on figures provided by the Bank of Montreal Economics Department in conjunction with the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada and Statistics Canada.

² Rate of return is used only for illustrative purposes. It is not intended to reflect future values or returns on investments.

THE MILLERS: A Case Study

Jenny Miller is three years old. Using *In-tuition*'s dashboard, her parents learn that by the time she'll be a post-secondary education will cost \$75,000. The Millers have no current education savings but are eager to begin. If the Millers contribute monthly to an RESP until Jenny turns 18, they'd need to save \$95/month. The government would contribute \$20/month in grants. With an 8% investment rate of return over a 18 year savings period, the Millers' total contribution of \$20,000 along with total grants of \$3,600, would grow to cover Jenny's education costs.

By using the *In-tuition* savings worksheet, the Millers learn how to reduce their monthly contributions by adjusting key variables. Here's how:

1. Through wise investing, the Millers are able to generate a 10% rate of return. Their monthly contributions would be \$26.20 with government grants of \$25.87 per month. At 10%, monthly savings total \$25.83 plus \$21.17 in government grants.
2. The Millers decide to only cover 75 per cent of Jenny's education costs. Their monthly contributions would be \$218.87 with government grants of \$23.33 per month. During university, Jenny would need to pay \$4,400 each year.
3. Jenny decides to live at home while attending university, reducing her total education costs by 52 per cent. The Millers only need to save \$81.40 each month with government grants of \$35.33 per month.

With these and other variables to choose from, *In-tuition* helps the Millers develop a personalized education savings plan.



There are lots of ways to put your kid through school. Here's the best one.

Unless you plan on parting with a couple of dusty Benjamins, a last-minute garage sale isn't going to cover the \$75,000SM price tag hanging from your kid's education. And chances are, neither will a savings account or a simple mutual fund. So it's important that you have a plan in place that will. We suggest you take a look at *In-tuition*SM. It'll make sure you get junior out of your living room and into an 8x2 dorm room. And it'll do it for a lot less than \$75,000. Our *In-tuition* brochures and dashboard will give you all the details. Ask for them at 1-888-558-0113, www.bmo.com/Intuition, or any Bank of Montreal.

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The names Jimmy, And Jimbo or Big Jim are more fitting given its truck heritage. But new rules in redesign, the GMC is as comfortable on the way to the office as it is to the chair.

Inside the SUV felt model shown here, you're treated to luxury like leather seats, electronic climate controls and a smooth quiet ride.

Despite being worthy of the name James, this Jimmy is not gray luxury car. And its 180-horsepower Vortec engine, deft

available 4-wheel drive, and up to 5000-pound towing capacity make sure of that.

Visit your local Pontiac/Black/GMC dealer for a test drive. And experience the GMC's style and strength for yourself. We know you'll be so at ease with a, you'll prefer to call your spot, utility Jimmy.

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Column



Barbara Amiel

On the horns of a musical dilemma

Not work is the Jewish New Year, and the following week brings our Day of Atonement. I'm not an observant Jew, but my roots are deep. My connection to the faith of my fathers, pale and inauthentic though it is, has always sustained me. Having said that, let me reveal my religious shiftness: In the top drawer of my desk are the cherished tickets I sent for some six months ago to a Royal Opera rendition of Richard Wagner's Ring cycle. The second opera, *Die Walküre*, will be performed on Kol Shalom night, the night of the Yom Kippur. What to do? Even my lapsed Jewish friends had no doubt: "You can't go to Wagner on Yom Kippur," they said, with genuine horror. "Verdi or Mozart, perhaps, but not Wagner."

Now, I don't need a rabbi to tell me that a Jew should be in synagogue on Yom Kippur. But I couldn't help being intrigued by the old saw that the genius of Wagner is something a Jew should approach warily. In Israel, though there is no law against public performances of Wagner, there might as well be. The Israeli Philharmonic can't play his music. Protest and threats to government funding would jeopardize its attempts, and every attempt has failed.

This summer, I went to the Bayreuth Festival to hear Daniel Barenboim, an Israeli, conduct the Wagner opera he can't do in Israel. On arrival, I saw that there was also a week-long seminar on Wagner and the Jews. Between operas, I read two of Wagner's notorious essays, including "Judaism in Music." This is a complex subject with tangled roots in musicology and history, but let's deal with the essays. Wagner sees the influence of Jews in music as a manifestation of the "alien" nature of the Jew. Jews, he felt, lacked the passionate, full-blooded authenticity that music gets when it comes from that mystical bond between the genuine people (the Folk) and their land. Wagner returns again and again to this alienness, ascribing all good qualities to the Folk and all bad things, including antisemitic, phobic, racist ones, to the Jew and his tribe.

Clearly, the essays are merely a personal rant, often incomprehensible. No matter how gifted a person is in one area, this provides no assurance of clear-sightedness in another area. This is obvious, but we lose sight of it every week. We look at people who can hit a ball with a stick very well and expect them to be great pianists. Nobody goes to a baseball game to study mathematics and no one goes to Tchaikovsky to listen to a reading of Wagner's essays. Paul Robeson learned Stalin and was used by the Communists even as officials were being slaughtered. I would've given up listening to Robeson's wonderful voice then or now.

Secondly, one cannot view antisemitic feelings or any racial or ethnic prejudice on the same way now as then. The great divide on

this is the Third Reich. After Hitler, all discussions on these subjects took on a different context.

As well, discussions of ethnic groups and their nature have another aspect in multi-ethnic countries. In Canada, the racism of the society is to create unity out of disparate elements. We do not celebrate the great success of our language, culture and tribal traditions. But Wagner's essays were written just at the time, about 1850, when emerging nationalism became the organizing principle of society in Germany was not yet there. The idea of the tribal nature of the great German people—the Volk spirit that inspired the noblest impulses in a given group—was blowing in the wind and was as much a part of the ethos as fear of global warming is today. Wagner's essays were also part of a great debate, now forgotten, between the romanticists and the formalists. This translated in his mind, because of the preoccupations of the period, into the clash between the art of the Folk and of the Jews. A certain formalism or evidence became identified with either Germans or Jewish music.

Other periods have politicized difference in ethnic movements. Josef Skvorecky has written of Czech attempts to prevent the use of the sordus (the mate) in playing the jazz trumpet because the Communists regarded it bourgeois.

An entirely different matter has to do with the characteristics of Jewish society, manners, music and behavior in the mid-20th century. Today, one can hardly tell who is Jew or gentile. People dress from the same shops, shop at the same supermarkets and watch CNN. But in those days, unless they belonged to a super-educated, cultured minority, the Jews were hideously badly different.

At the same time, in that static society characterized by social immobility, the Jews developed the greatest social mobility of all, which must have been welcome to many Jews who had been forced into menial activities and money lending when other occupations were closed to them. As society became more oriented along bourgeois rather than aristocratic lines, the Jews were better equipped to move in it. Add to all this Wagner's own personal temperament as a romantic who very much favored the passionate model with the grand gesture and one can see the problem. Most Jews of that era had little time for the grand gesture. They were not attracted to the great romantic characteristics or the romantic vision that was contemptuous of bourgeois notions of money-making or art as business or enter- tainment.

Ultimately, none of this matters. No one needs to read Wagner's essays or have business dealings with him. No one needs to do any thing with him except the one thing in which he is quite proficient—listen to his music. I will, but for purely religious reasons, perhaps not on Yom Kippur.

Opening NOTES

Edited by TANYA DAVIES

Acting up in prison

It was a warm autumn day in the exercise yard of Stoney Mountain Institution, 11 km north of Winnipeg. And as the film crew had laid out cables and sound equipment last week, dozens of inmates wearing identical prison greens watched from the sidelines. They comprised two groups: the ones who looked pale and tense were the actors, while the real inmates peddled around with weaponed sunglasses and bag snakes. About 35 converts were taking part in the shooting of *Hard Time*, a dramatization of the life of the wrongly convicted Donald Milgaard. "This is a bit of fun," said Lefebvre (French) Ali LeBris, former president of Lefebvre's Les Bruns motorcycle club. Added LeBris, who had led the inmate welfare committee: "How often do you get to be in a movie?"



Like Tracy as Milgaard with a prison guard—a case of innocence

that matched the period, so we could only have two dates." The inmate "nugs"—they were paid scale as extras—will be used to purchase equipment for the weight room and the prison band.

At one point during last week's filming, LeBris spilled over to a reporter. "This should educate the public that after 35 years a man can still be 'wound scarred,'" he said, then paused for effect. "Black, we're all scarred in here." His buddies gave a hearty laugh.

After being convicted of the murder of nursing aide Gail Miller in 1970, when he was 26, Milgaard spent 35 years in prison—most of them at Stoney Mountain. He was released in 1999, but it was not until 2007 that a DNA test proved his innocence. Now, three Winnipeg production companies have banded together to shoot Milgaard's story as a two-hour movie for CTV, expected to air in early 1999. One of the producers, Richard Fradette, noted that 117 of Stoney Mountain's 482 inmates applied for work in the movie. "But we needed interests

Staking out a new post

With Southern Inc.'s new national daily newspaper set to begin publishing on Oct. 27, it now has a name—*The National Post*—and lots of graying from some employees. Ever since Southern bought *The Montreal Post* from Sun Media Corp. last July—and announced plans to fold it in the new daily—editorial executives have been listening about their future. A week last week from Don Rabuck, Southern's chief operating officer and publisher of the new venture, said nothing to soothe those concerns. Aside from announcing the paper's new name, he revealed little else.



Rabuck: window office?

Many senior editors and writers have not been told how or whether they will fit in. Layoffs or buyouts seem inevitable since most management positions in the new business section have already been filled. (Southern recently hired Globe and Mail columnist Terence Connon to help run the business section.) The one thing that's clear is

that they have no need for all of us," says one senior producer. Many employees fear that Southern will wait until just before the final October deadline to *The Financial Post* before announcing any bad news. As well, it is not clear what will happen to the monthly *Financial Post Magazine* one employer says Southern officials at first "did not even seem aware of its existence." And another journalist says that Ken North, the editor-in-chief of the new paper, "treats us like the poor relatives he's been ordered to get along with."

But at least one senior staff member of the soon-to-be-daily publication is introduced by doubts. Just hours after *National Post* editor Christine Fraser announced her resignation, she would not use the private office she had been assigned, occupying *Financial Post* editor David Francis' apartment on the second with her belongings and moved into the newspaper. She is expected to be a columnist at the new *National Post*.

EMPORIUM

The United Nations Human Development Report again ranked Canada the best country in the world, but added some caveats about inequality with 13.7 per cent of its people living below the poverty line, and 19 per cent functionally illiterate. Canada placed 10th among 17 rich countries on the Human Poverty Index. Other notable findings in the 1990 report include three annual spending figures, in U.S. dollars:

Global military spending: \$796 billion
Expenditures in the United States: \$6 billion
Estimated additional spending required to make primary education accessible to everyone in all developing countries: \$6 billion

GOLDENBELL POLL

In a wind poll, the young are most likely to be computer devotees than their elders. Here's 1,600 adult Canadians' characteristics that frequently with e-mail under the Internet.

	Total under 25	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Very familiar	37	39	25	16	13
Familiar	26	44	36	36	8
Not very familiar	22	20	24	26	15
Not familiar at all	34	9	21	28	43

Source: Goldenbell Research Inc.

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Carr, now, in 1999 (next) as a political junkie, she is weighing new options

DOUBLE TAKE

Shirley Carr

When Shirley Carr decided to return to work as a temporary help to a law firm in 1983, the job she got was as a receptionist. She required her to join a union—she did. "That action influenced her future for more than the hour-and-a-half in 1983," she says. Carr, 58, is then a competitor and outspoken activist, completed her clerkship through the ranks of the 25-million-member Canadian Labour Congress to become its first woman president. But in 1989, Carr relinquished the Ottawa-based post and went home to Niagara Falls and went for her long husband, Bruce. Last April, he died of multiple myeloma, a degenerative blood disease, and Carr is still coming to terms with his loss. However, she says, "I

KNOW to start feeling it because I'm able to do some things."

"Like what?" "There have been some overtures about running for mayor of Niagara Falls," says Carr. And local New Democrats have approached her about a candidacy. Carr has not made either move. Yet her decision may not be for all she admits to being a political junkie who is upset over the state of the nation. "The political parties have forgotten that we have to keep building this country," she says.

Still, after more than 40 years of organized labor, why not just retire? "Because there are so many other things to do," says Carr, who is in her 60s. "I'm going to do something. I'm just not sure what it is." Whatever it is, both supporters and critics will watch with interest as the lively Carr ventures once more into the breach.

DAVE CORRELL

CAPITAL CONFIDENTIAL

Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and Reform Party leader Preston Manning may not often agree, but both men have reasons to keep a watchful eye on a newspaper that has created one of Canada's biggest law firms. Last week, the Ontario and British Columbia-based Fraser & Sonnet merged with the Alberta-based firm of Milder Fennell, forming a consortium of more than 280 lawyers. But it is the links between prominent Liberals and Reformers that will drive the next battle. The chairman of the new firm, the now-former Fraser Milder, as Toronto-based David Smith, a former Liberal cabinet minister and co-chairman of the Liberal election campaign committee. Smith, a high profile partner in Ottawa-based Richard Mahoney, a longtime political aide to Finance Minister Paul Martin, and still his close friend. On the Reform side, there are two notable links. Clifford Pyles left his position as managing partner of Milder Fennell in the spring to become Preston Manning's chief of staff. And one lawyer has even closer ties to the Reform leader: his daughter, Andrea Manning-Kron. This is one firm where watercooler talk will be more than just idle gossip.

BEST-SELLERS

FICTION

1. *Twelve Days*, Tom Clancy (D)
2. *Where the Heart Is*, Jodi Picoult (D)
3. *Wives in the House*, John Grisham (D)
4. *The Graceland Countdown*, Jeffrey Archer (D)
5. *Point of View*, Patricia Cornwell (D)
6. *Death in the Endgame*, William Weaver (D)
7. *Summer House*, John Grisham (D)
8. *Graceland*, Jeffrey Archer (D)
9. *Point of View*, Patricia Cornwell (D)
10. *Where the Heart Is*, Jodi Picoult (D)
11. *Twelve Days*, Tom Clancy (D)
12. *Where the Heart Is*, Jodi Picoult (D)
13. *Where the Heart Is*, Jodi Picoult (D)
14. *Where the Heart Is*, Jodi Picoult (D)
15. *Where the Heart Is*, Jodi Picoult (D)

NONFICTION

1. *The Big Sister Book*, Christopher Anderson (D)
2. *Angels' Daughters*, David McCourt (D)
3. *The Big Sister Book*, Christopher Anderson (D)
4. *Angels' Daughters*, David McCourt (D)
5. *The Big Sister Book*, Christopher Anderson (D)
6. *Angels' Daughters*, David McCourt (D)
7. *The Big Sister Book*, Christopher Anderson (D)
8. *Angels' Daughters*, David McCourt (D)
9. *The Big Sister Book*, Christopher Anderson (D)
10. *Angels' Daughters*, David McCourt (D)
11. *The Big Sister Book*, Christopher Anderson (D)
12. *Angels' Daughters*, David McCourt (D)
13. *The Big Sister Book*, Christopher Anderson (D)
14. *Angels' Daughters*, David McCourt (D)
15. *The Big Sister Book*, Christopher Anderson (D)

Erica Jong is flying again

It has been 25 years since Erica Jong published *Fear of Flying*, but bookstores and publishing firms are clamoring for her new book, *What Do Women Want?* (HarperCollins). Jong examines—among other things—the importance of female power in the workplace. She is a great look at what makes a perfect man.



Passages

INQUIRY: 100-in world record holder **David Bailey**, 32, who's playing basketball in the Olympic Games, the Olympic champion captured his Achilles tendon, which he attracted into the calf muscle. The superior athlete would suffer a surgical injury at a Toronto hospital last week, but doctors cautioned that it is too early to predict whether Bailey will be able to resume his career.



DIED: Japan's most celebrated film director **Kurosawa**, 88, of a stroke in Tokyo. He made 30 films during his five-decade career. Kurosawa is the only director to win two Oscars for best foreign film, *Anatomy of a Mind* (1951) and *Danshi* (1975).

AWARDED: The \$50,000 Lionel Gilbert Prize, to Robert Karlosk Maske, 42, of Sammamish, Wash., for his book, *Looking the Bonds: The United States and South Africa in the Apartheid Years* in Toronto. The prize is presented annually for an outstanding work on foreign affairs.

CHARGED: Former NFL player **Stockton Kennedy**, 29, with failing to report an accident in Edmonton. Kennedy, who is crossing the country on his own as part of a campaign against child sex abuse, crashed a leased Hummer into a bridge, causing \$20,000 in damage to the vehicle. Last week, a sitting, appellate court, Kennedy admitted to drinking eight beers before the accident and possessing marijuana found in the car.

SUED: Billionaire **Norwegian** **At Fjord**, 65, by former family lawyer **Terence Rosen**, 30, over unpaid legal costs in London. At Fjord, sued Rosen, the legal fees for Rosen's case, the sole survivor of the Pan Am crash that killed **Diana**, Princess of Wales, and her son, **David**, after he quit in April. Rosen-Jones, who now lives in a plain home sales assistant at a sports shop, claim At Fjord broke a promise to pay all his "lawyer's" fees related to the Aug. 31, 1997 crash.

INDUCTED: Grand Council **32** **Maple Blackwood**, 41, and **Carling Bassett** **Sepas**, 31, into Canada's Tennis Hall of Fame, in Victoria.

We'd like to take this opportunity to discuss our level of service.

On the road to superior customer service, you'll find Lake Kenogona. It was here, during a fishing trip, that a Lexus owner lost the key to his LX 580. For the owner, it meant paddling to a remote village to call his Lexus dealer by radio telephone.

For the dealer, it meant not only chasing a new key, but having missed the once-a-week flight from Regina, chartering a plane for its delivery.

Suffice it to say, the Lexus owner was more than a little impressed with his dealer. But not nearly so much as when he discovered the cost for this service. No charge.

As in any fish tale, there will be a disbelieving few, who would deem this story as pure fiction. To those, we offer some hard facts: in many Customer Service Satisfaction Surveys, Lexus dealers have been rated so highly as to become the standard for the industry.

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A time to mourn

Dear Sir: This little stuffed toy whose label identified it as a Lion King was retrieved Friday, Sept. 4. It was carefully washed with the hope that it may provide some family member with solace as a tangible connection with the child to whom it belonged. My son, who has a seven-month-old daughter, informed me that this was Simba, a Disney character in The Lion King who grows up to become the Lion King at the end of the movie. Tragically, this is no movie and there is no happy ending. The owner of this baby item won't grow up.

—Capt. Harvey E. Adams, in a note he attached to a stuffed animal after it was retrieved from the Swissair 111 crash site near Peggy's Cove, N.S.

SCENE OF REMEMBRANCE:
Amid the grief, acts of human kindness, consolation and generosity

BY BRIAN BEISGMAN

The kindness of a coast guard captain who wants to provide some small measure of comfort to strangers who may live a world away. The consideration of a chief medical examiner who takes time out from the grisly task of identifying and cataloguing body parts to meet with grieving relatives and who later chokes back tears as he recounts the experience. The generosity of a woman who has just lost her father and step-mother, and who offers some public memorial service not to vent her grief but to express her heartfelt gratitude for how Nova Scotians—and all Canadians—responded in a time of crisis.

These were among the points of light that pierced the prevailing gloom in the aftermath of the Sept. 2 crash of Swissair Flight 111, which killed all 229 people onboard. A week later investigators sought answers to the big questions—had the plane crashed as a result of human error, mechanical failure or a combination of the two?—many others touched by the tragedy appeared to be acting as an instinctive human need to assist. "It was like it happened to your own family or next-door neighbor," says Lloyd O'Neill, a Roman Catholic priest from Halifax who was among dozens of clergy and psychologists who counselled via first initiatives from as far afield as Switzerland and South Africa. "All of a sudden, we were brothers and sisters in grief."

The fatal incident that brought these strangers together began when a routine flight between New York City and Geneva went awfully awry less than an hour after takeoff on Sept. 2. At 10:14 p.m. Atlantic time, Capt. Urs Zimmermann told the air traffic control tower in Moncton, N.B., that there was trouble in the cockpit of his Boeing MD-11 aircraft. Just 16 minutes later, the plane smashed into the sea, 14 km off of Peggy's Cove.

For the hundreds of transportation safety and police investigators assembled in Halifax last week, the central puzzle remained the same: What had gone so wrong, so quickly, to make an experienced crew working for an airline with a commendable reputation for safety standards lose control of their aircraft? Any comprehensive answer to that question will be impossible until the information on Swissair Flight 111's cockpit voice recorder recovered by divers at wreck's end, is analyzed. In the meantime, evidence began to trickle out that provided some clues as to what may have sealed the fate of the aircraft's passengers and crew.

Some of the most revealing information came from the full transcript released last week of the conversation that took place between the pilots and air traffic controllers during the flight's final moments. It suggests that, despite the initial reports of smoke at 10:14, Zimmermann and his crew felt they lost the situation under control. After declaring "this, too, too," in dis-



Relatives of the victims of Flight 111 coped with their loss as the investigation continued

trous signals less urgent than usual, Zimmermann requested diversion to Boston, July 660 km away. And even after accepting the air controller's suggestion of the much closer Halifax airport, the pilot clearly felt he had enough time to execute a 180-degree turn and head out to sea, away from the airport, in order to dump fuel and lighten his load for landing.

But a scant 10 minutes later, the situation had become desperate. At 10:24, as the final radio communication between the plane and the control tower, Zimmermann declared an emergency and said, "We have to land immediate"—not "immediately," as the initial and inconclusive transcript released by investigators on Sept. 5 indicated.

Investigators had hoped that the plane's flight data recorder, retrieved from the wreck's depths on Sept. 4, would shed light on the last chilling moments of Flight 111. But the instrument—which provides information on more than 300 aspects of the flight, including the state of the electrical system—suggested recordings as the plane descended below 3,000 m altitude, roughly the point of the last radio transmission. Vic Gerlach, the Transportation Safety Board's lead investigator, told reporters that this record "assuming possible" the aircraft had suffered an electrical shutdown that would have left the pilots flying—if they could fly at all—literally in the dark, using only manual controls. If that scenario proves true, even the cockpit recorder's information may reveal little, if anything, about the plane's final several trajectory.

Other details disclosed by investigators appeared consistent with the theory of a rapidly deteriorating series of electrical problems that ultimately consumed Flight 111's pilots with crippling smoke and lost conditions. Examination of the few fragments of the airplane recovered by divers and revealed visible signs of burnt wires in the cockpit, including parts of overhead panels that were so hot that material melted and dripped onto one pilot's landing suit covering.

Evidence of electrical failure in Flight 111 has inadvertently led to a flurry of speculation about its source. Much of this centred on the possible role played by the wiring aboard the MD-11, which was laden with an insulation known as Kapton—a widely used aviation product the U.S. military banned 11 years ago because it was prone to cracking that caused fires. (An other MD-11, flown by China Eastern Airlines, crashed at week's end in Shanghai after the front landing gear reportedly jammed, resulting in several injuries.) And while some aviation analysts concentrated on possible mechanical failures, others were already blaming the tragedy on human error.

Former American Airlines pilot Don Tyson told reporters Zimmermann wasted precious moments after acknowledging the presence of smoke by turning out to sea to dump fuel—a standard procedure when contemplating an early landing. "He should've done something else," declared Tyson, who in 1979 safely landed a passenger jet without clearance at an



CANADA

Trouble in the skies

Flying is safe, but problems lie ahead

Two cross-jetting pilots and their lone passenger aboard Transworld Flight 361 approached Sioux Lookout Airport, 250 km northwest of Thunder Bay, Ont., on May 1, 1995. At the same time, Air South Flight 5311, with one pilot and four passengers aboard, took off for the runway. Five minutes later, the planes collided almost head-on at an altitude of 4,400 m and fell to earth in flames, killing all eight people. A year later, the Transportation Safety Board of Canada concluded that a piece of collision-avoidance equipment, which the U.S. Federal Aviation Administration began introducing in 1993—Transport Canada has not followed suit—likely would have prevented the accident. Peter Forrester, safety chairman for the Canadian branch of the Air Line Pilots Association, says the federal regulator dodged a bullet because of the small number of casualties—and the relative lack of attention to the accident. "The government," Forrester says, "got awfully lucky."

As the collision at Sioux Lookout shows, there are thorny ways to make air travel safer. Most commercial planes in Canada do have devices to warn of encroaching aircraft—all easily because most Canadian planes fly to the United States, where the equipment is required. Without the warning systems, Forrester says, small commuter planes and their passengers in Canada are put needlessly at risk. But it is the rare, large-scale accidents like Swissair Flight 111 that shake public confidence most profoundly. Particularly unnerving are the planes that fall out of the sky for an apparent reason. While Flight 111 reported smoke in the cockpit before crashing in the Atlantic off

CONSTRUCTING TWO FLIGHT 400
LAST YEAR: The missing link in air safety, some experts say, is a global watchdog with the clout to enforce the rules worldwide.

Peggy Cove, N.S., TWA Flight 800 simply blew up without warning, killing 230 near Long Island, N.Y., in 1996. Investigators suspect faulty wiring caused the fuel tanks to explode, but they still are not certain.

Statistics, though, appear to back widespread claims that flying is unnecessary for safety. Last year, about 47,000 people died in car accidents in Canada and the United States alone, while only 918 died in 26 accidents involving regularly scheduled flights worldwide. (That number does not include other flights such as charters.) Put another way, the Montreal-based International Civil Aviation Organization says that for a passenger to have an even chance of dying in a plane, that individual would have to fly every day for 60 years.

There are, however, troubling signs on the horizon. According to the Flight Safety Foundation in Alexandria, Va., about 3.5 accidents occur for every million flight departures worldwide, a figure that has remained essentially unchanged since the mid-1980s. The problem, says Harry Goss, president of the Canadian watchdog group Transport 2000, is that air travel is booming. On any given day, there is already an average of 16,000 aircraft in the air. The number of passengers worldwide is expected to skyrocket to 2 billion by 2005 from 1.5 billion last year. And more flights will mean more accidents.

To cope with the projected demand, Air Canada, for example, has burned 790 pilots since June, 2000. Airbus Industrie in Europe has on its drawing board plans for a double-decker behemoth capable of carrying 600 passengers, well above the 500 a 747 jet can carry now. Boeing Co. has similar plans. In short, says Goss, if the rate at which accidents occur stays constant, and air travel continues its dramatic climb, then "by the year 2015 there would be a major crash at the level we saw at Peggy Cove every week."

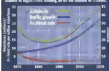
The missing link in air safety, according to ICAO, is a global watchdog with the clout to enforce rules. At the moment, ICAO sets the standards and recommends practices which its 185 member countries agree to follow. The countries, however, police themselves, and regions like Africa, eastern Europe and Latin America do not have the infrastructure or resources to do so effectively. Consequently, those regions have far higher accident rates than North America.

On Sept. 22, ICAO is to begin its 30-day annual assembly in Montreal, where representatives of member countries will be asked to vote on whether their organization should become the world's aviation safety auditor, conducting regular mandatory safety audits. "You may be looking at maybe three to six years to put into place a second system," ICAO spokesman Denis Chagnon says. In the meantime, there have been no votes on the Chagnon says. "The bottom line" he adds, "is that it will be the safest way to travel." While that may be true, in the aftermath of Swissair Flight 111, some people may need more convincing.

DANYLO BAWLESHEKA

An ever-mounting toll

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Red Chamber showdown

Senate reformers face off against Ottawa

Senator John Lynch-Staunton did not even bother opening his laudatory speech to Calgary Reformers last week with a joke. Calgary is home to some of the country's most vociferous Senate reformers, who were not likely to see much humor as a Brian Mulroney-appointed Tory senator from Quebec entering their lair. Facing that kind of crowd, Lynch-Staunton decided his best defense was a good offense. "Without distracting from the disqualification with an appointed Senate," he told his audience, "what should concern Canadians is how extensively centralized their federal parliament has become in the past 10 years." And Lynch-Staunton then fingered what he sees as the problem: the prime minister's almost unrestrained powers under Canada's current parliamentary system, not the least of which is his position to dissolve Senate appointments.

On that his audience could agree. Many Canadians may disagree the upper chamber as an anachronism, and late news, and want it reformed, but only after the law comes into a serious test at doing something about it. They began in 1989 by electing the Reform party's Stan Waters as a unique, prospectively opposed vote to nominate a senator. Waters was named to the upper house by Brian Mulroney the next year. And this Oct. 28, at the same time as Alberta voters announced their vote, they will again vote for two "independent" senators. For a victory there was expected to come open until 2001. Terry Prue, Ralph Klein called the election in line in what was widely seen as a way to placate the Reformers who make up a chunk of his provincial caucus (Klein's distant claim made the Senate election seem little more than a political stunt and, until last week, only six candidates had entered the race—all at them Reformers).

The victory made increasing the vote important to the party with the unexpected resignation of Alberta Senator Jean Forest, 72, who left Ottawa to better care for her gravely ill husband, Reilly. Suddenly, the Alberta election was no longer an academic exercise. It also created an uncomfortable problem for Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, who seemed to move quickly to appoint Forest's replacement. Suddenly, anxious western officials and columnists warned



Missing, the Senate fight is impending October election in Alberta

against such political hyperbole. But, Klein, who has built a career on following his gut instincts on what Albertans want, found some fire and declared it would be "a provocation" if Chrétien appointed a senator before the province's voters had a chance to have their say. "The issue has been framed in the traditional terms of western alienation," says Roger Gibbens of the Calgary-based Canada West Foundation, which has been a leading advocate of electing senators as a way to correct regional imbalances in Ottawa.

And it worries the federal Liberals. A federal election may be three years off but little backsliding would be required to put the government's two Alberta seats—both thinly held in Edmonton—in peril. Gibbens says Chrétien's only hope of avoiding an angry outburst from Albertans is to appoint someone with classically nonpartisan credentials. With the Reform caucus currently in a minority over Prime Minister's leadership, the Liberals were holding off temporarily on the Senate appointment to avoid throwing the opposition a political lifeline. But they may also be holding their fire, waiting to see if an Alberta election will take a Senate seat (senior Liberals acknowledge there is a stigma in Alberta to accepting a federal appointment in defiance of the pending election). "Oh, they'll find somebody," says Bill Code, a Calgary lawyer who runs as a Liberal and lost to Waters in 1989. "Somebody who's ready to take some abuse."

Alberta Liberals had back on the argument that electing senators will be an obstacle to true Senate reform. They want to correct the

current imbalance, which gives Ontario and Quebec 24 seats each to Alberta's six—the same as the other western provinces—and argue that an elected Senate alone would not address the question of provincial inequality. "If every province did what Alberta's doing, it would get rid of the Senate's inferiority complex," says Alberta Senator Don Boyd, who was appointed by former prime minister Pierre Trudeau in 1984 and has retired only to re-emerge his seat and run in the October election. "You would solve a huge amount of power into a Senate that was not weighted against Alberta." An elected Senate, he says, should only be done as part of complete Senate reform.

But the odds are decidedly long against another round of constitutional talks, while Quebec and Ontario are hardly poised to surrender their disproportionate weight in the upper chamber. The Liberals remain obsessed by the Quebec separatist threat and have no appetite to elect the province by opening the constitutional question of its Senate slot. Nor are other provincial premiers eager to give up their unique role as defenders of provincial rights in a reformist, powerful Senate. "It is simply not in the cards to change the Senate in one massive way," says Gibbens. "You have to destabilize the status quo with an elected senator first, then see what happens." But Chrétien is a cautious politician. And, as Lynch-Staunton told his Calgary crowd, he has no reason to tinker with the status quo now.

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CANADA

APEC hangover

The University of British Columbia in suburban Vancouver is blessed with a beautiful campus. With its rich green grounds and Pacific Ocean views looking in its embrace, it is no surprise that Prime Minister Jean Chrétien personally approved UBC as the site for last November's summit of the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation countries. In hindsight, he might wish he had selected the more photo-op backdrop for a more isolated location. University campuses are hotbeds for everything grassroots for political activists, and hundreds of UBC students used the occasion to express their anger at human rights abuses in some APEC countries. The pretty pictures of the backslapping leaders are long forgotten. Canadians now remember the APEC summit for its images of young protesters being blasted with pepper spray by RCMP officers and seeing their democracy and free speech being torn down by Canadian police.

More than had critics from the APEC summit now haunt Chrétien. Beginning this week in Vancouver, the RCMP Public Complaints Commission will examine allegations from several groups, including UBC students that officers used excessive force to break the 17 leaders' risk. But the hanging a state to go beyond examining RCMP conduct, and ask whether other Chrétien, or his aides in the Prime Minister's Office encouraged police to use extraordinary measures to keep any sign

Did the PMO ask for a police crackdown?

Arresting a protester (above), Chrétien's senior aide



of protest well away from the leaders. Documents leaked to the media last week included an RCMP memo stating: "The PM wants everyone removed." And other documents suggest Chrétien and Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Austin would be great lengths to ensure any particular target—in this Indonesian dictator Suharto, who was deposed at home within six months of the Vancouver summit—that he would not see or hear any demonstrations in Canada.

Chrétien has acknowledged that, as host, he asked his staff to make sure the visitors had no security fears. But he denied he ever heard orders to use force against or direct demonstrators away from the meetings. "I don't have to explain anything," he said last week. "I did not talk to any RCMP person. Chrétien also said he would refuse to testify before the

commission. But two of his closest advisers will appear: chief of staff Jean Pelletier, and John Gault, then the PMO's director of operations.

Chrétien's testimony may be the most revealing. A close friend of the Clinton family, as well as a longtime aide, Chrétien developed a fierce reputation for throwing his weight around after the Liberals won power in 1993. In one infamous incident, he publicly berated Canada's ambassador to Egypt, Michael Bell, at the 1996 Sharm el Sheikh summit summit, blaming him for an embarrassing snafu between the PMO and Egyptian security officials. As director of operations, Chrétien was the PMO's liaison with the RCMP—an area where political and security concerns can easily overlap. Some RCMP officers privately told *Absolve* they are taking the blame for simply carrying out the PMO's orders, which they all agree included instructions to move demonstrators away from the leaders.

In the run-up to the APEC summit, Chrétien's office was clearly intent on ensuring Suharto's comfort. Through his ambassador to Canada, the dictator made it clear he did not want to see any protests against him and threatened to boycott the summit unless that was assured. Aides say Chrétien grew increasingly concerned by Suharto's demands—but he could hardly ignore them. Indonesia has the world's largest Muslim population and Suharto was the most influential leader in southeast Asia. A summit without him might be deemed a failure.

At a news conference, Chrétien and Chrétien reassured the Indonesian president all letters that Suharto would not have to worry about his "comfort," as they put it. Austin also reportedly apologized to the Indonesian foreign minister that the "World's powers of Suharto to limit appearing in Canadian cities were 'unacceptable and excessive'—was giving statements from a minister who was a civil rights marcher in his own student days. The RCMP even agreed to allow Suharto's own security agents to carry controlled weapons, although they did let the visitors, in return for their questions, that allowing demonstrators "would not be tolerated"—and that they could do nothing to control media coverage.

It may be difficult to prove at the Vancouver hearings that RCMP security efforts went too far. The responsibility for keeping foreign dignitaries safe from harm while on Canadian soil can be used to justify strict control measures. (According to reports at world's event, concern for the demonstrators themselves may have been a factor, especially after the RCMP learned that Suharto's son-in-law, the multi-faceted head of Indonesia's secret police, was leading the dictator's special guard detail.) But next week's testimony may shed light on a more unsettling question: whether a Canadian prime minister or his staff tried to stop demonstrators from advocating democracy and democracy, all to avoid embarrassing a visiting delegat

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MILLARVILLE, ALTA.

Horse whispering

BY LUCIANNA CICCOCOPPIO

A dusty gravel road cuts through a forested valley covered with ash black fields of earth and bright yellow wildflowers. It winds along the foothills of the Rockies and passes by Three Point Stables, near the town of Millarville in southwestern Alberta. Today, nine people have brought their horses to Three Point Stables to attend a two-day training clinic. Inside the roof, dirt-floored training rooms all eyes—human and equine—are on Kerri Williamson as she teaches the fundamentals of handling a horse.

Williamson is a horse whisperer—someone who can communicate silently with horses. He trains them through hand gestures and body movements, and eschews the harsher traditional methods such as roughly shaking or the reins. The 30-year-old trainer is one of about a dozen well-known horse whisperers in North America, not including the quiet aficionados who don't market their skills.

Horse whispering dates back to the Moors, but it was popularized by the international best-seller *The Horse Whisperer*, by British author Nicholas Evans, and the Robert Redford movie of the same name. Old World horse whisperers were thought to be sorcerers who relied on potions and magic to train their steeds, although many used the methods of touch and gesture

or water to get it to behave. Williamson doesn't think all trainers are above just because they use spurs and whips. He just believes there are better ways to train. "If a person leads a horse by pulling or forcing the horse learns from Day 1 to resist pressure and to resist it," he says. "From that on, you always have to make the horse do things as opposed to asking and maybe receiving through willingness."

Getting a horse to respond means applying the "pressure principle." Horses don't pressure in a variety of ways, Williamson says.

Through changes in the weather, changes in the topography of a trail, and hierarchical changes among the herd. For example, when the patriarchal mare moves through a group of horses, the other animals yield. If humans, Williamson adds, can have the same impact. When he moves his body towards the hip of a horse—out of the pressure point—the animal steps away. Williamson then knows that when he turns to walk, the horse will follow. For a rider, this control on the ground allows a pre-control in the saddle. It means separating with the left leg to turn left, with a gentle tug on the left rein. Conventional methods can employ snatches or spurs on the opposite side, to get the horse to move. It's a backward system, Williamson says, for nature's "pure and perfect" animal.

One Williamson patient is 12-year-old Raven Richard Crossfield, who brought her speckled grey jumping horse, Frosty Friday, to the clinic. "He had a problem with training and avoiding certain things, and he had a problem with shaking off clothes," Rich says. She laughs. "He was really a chatter." But after about six weeks of Williamson's touch, Frosty Friday returned to competition and was able to perform well.

Williamson works on about 12 horses at a time. He says he will never get rich, but the mortgage gets paid. He charges \$500 for one month of training and boarding and \$225 for a two-day clinic. The clothing store he runs with his wife, Loree, plus a partnership in a florist's business add to his income. But Williamson's main passion remains horse whispering. With no monthly clinics filling up quickly and a growing waiting list, Williamson may soon be able to answer his calling full time. And, on days with the sun shining on the Three Point Stables, the gravel road leading there may just have to be paved. □

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“I certainly didn’t want this to come out, if I could help it. I was embarrassed about it. I knew it was wrong.”

World COVER

STAR CROSSED

BY ANDREW PHILLIPS

There was something entirely fitting about the way Bill Clinton began what must surely have been one of the most trying days of his long political life. Just ahead lay a kind of public humiliation that few have known—the most intimate details of an illicit sexual liaison laid bare for all the world, or at least all the world with access to the Internet, to read. What better time to justify oneself with prayer, as the President did when he mingled with 125 priests, ministers, rabbis and nuns at the annual White House prayer breakfast? It was there, in the East Room, that his evasive apologies for his affair with young Monica Lewinsky reached its apogee. “This occasion, half-hearted apologies and slippery legalisms seemed badly to be behind him,” *“I have sinned,”* Clinton said. “The sorrow I feel is genuine.” He had, he said, “a broken spirit,” and had reached “an understanding that I must have God’s help to be the person that I want to be.” There weled in his eyes and some of those who listened wept with him.

It was, perhaps, the speech that could have spared him the personal embarrassment and acute political danger that came with the long-awaited release of a devastating report from his nemesis, independent counsel Kenneth Starr. History is bedeviled by might-have-beens, and future chroniclers of the Clinton presidency are bound to wonder whether the kind of forthright admission of guilt and humble apology he made last Friday would have saved him from the ordeal he now faces if he had made it when the scandal broke in mid January. But when it finally came, it was only hours before Starr’s 415-page report was made public by the House of Representatives. For weeks, Washington had been awash in rumors that the document would not only lay out grounds for impeaching Clinton, but would also be replete with bawdy details about his four-month affair with Lewinsky, the erstwhile White House intern. It did not disappoint. Starr contained there are 11 grounds for impeaching Clinton, involving perjury, obstruction of justice, witness tampering and abuse of power. The President, he argued, engaged for seven months in nothing less than “a strategy of deceiving the American people and Congress.”

The witness material was all there, too—page after long page of it, enough to make parts of the TV news and radio the newspaper from their children. With hindsight, one of Clinton’s biggest mistakes was to insist on Aug. 17, when he testified before Starr’s grand jury, that he had been “legally accurate” when he denied having sexual relations with Lewinsky. That gave Starr’s investigators an opening to explore in excruciating detail exactly what did go on behind closed doors between the President and the intern. Three days after Clinton’s testimony, they called Lewinsky, now 26, back to the grand jury and questioned her closely about her physical contacts with the man she liked to call “Bhadene.”

The result is surely one of the most bizarre documents ever issued by a government agency. For scores of pages, misty dry legalese with eye-glazing repetitiveness. Starr’s reporters laid his witness at what happened. 10 sexual encounters in a study, hallway and bathroom adjacent to the Oval Office. Lewinsky performing oral sex on Clinton while the President was talking on the phone to congressmen. Even, at last night’s talk show hosts have joked for weeks, sex involving one of Clinton’s capes.

It is, even the President’s defenders acknowledge, a sad, tedious, strangely adolescent story. But it is none the less a more serious—grounds for removing the most powerful man in the world from office? All last week, in the hour for releasing Starr’s report, nervous congressmen and senators spoke in increasingly solemn tones about their heavy responsibility. “Most to declining war,” said Richard Gephardt, the Democrats’ leader in the House of Representatives, “this may be the most important thing that we do.” The House Judiciary committee was charged with reviewing Starr’s evidence—30 white buses containing two copies of his report and thousands of pages of supporting documents and tapes. It was the beginning of a process that could eventually lead to removing the President from office. Not in a quarter of a century, since Richard Nixon was forced to resign the presidency in the Watergate scandal, had Washington felt events harsh so unannouncedly out of control.

But when the scandal was over and Starr’s report was finally public, there was another realization: a reality as all about the Bill and Monica story. Conservative analysts had suggested that Starr, after digging for more than four years into the tangled web of controversy known as Whitewater, would put Clinton’s alleged misdeeds into a wider context: a abuse of power going back to the earliest days of his presidency. Starr himself had made that promise when he was appointed in January to probing permissiveness, from the political point of that appointed him, to engage his probe to Lewinsky.

But in his report, Starr merely promises to decide later how to deal with the other scandals. The document focuses entirely on what he claims is Clinton’s wrongdoing in the Lewinsky affair. The President, Starr charges, led six times under oath about his relationship with the intern, afterward justice by concealing evidence about the relationship, tried to influence the testimony of his secretary, Betty Currie, and other witnesses before Starr’s grand jury; abused the power of his office by imposing the grand jury looking into the affair and “made false statements to the American people” when he publicly denied having a sexual relationship with Lewinsky. “This,” Starr concludes, “represents substantial and credible information that may constitute grounds for an impeachment.”

But does it? Even before Starr’s report was released, Clinton was counterattacking on two fronts. First, with his attorneys



“I never expected to fall in love with the President. I was surprised that I did.”

LOVELY TIME: Hillary Clinton outside the White House after Starr delivered his report, Clinton, on video (right), helping Lewinsky at a baptism in 1996



The tale is tawdry, but is it enough to remove the world's most powerful man from office?

Starr, despite his title, is anything but an independent counsel. He is politically outwitted, they say, and not to bring down the President at any cost. Nothing in the report, Kravall claims, suggests that any wrongdoing Clinton committed had anything to do with the serious business of running the country. This is no Watergate. In its effect, argued Nixon, it resembles the power of the federal government without political constraints. Clinton, even if Starr's version of events is accurate, led about one "The subjective allegations in this report," said Kravall, "are simply intended to humiliate, embarrass and politically damage the President. This is personal and not impeachable."

What constitutes an impeachable offense, however, is one of the mysteries of the American political system. The constitution says only that a president may be removed for "treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors." Legal scholars say outrageous conduct in other, even behavior that involves no crime, may also be grounds for impeachment. Ultimately, Congress will decide whether Clinton's tale deserves full entry into any of these categories. And in that, they will inevitably be influenced by public reaction to the Lewinsky story detailed by Starr in a 286-page narrative of the Clinton-Lewinsky liaison. Americans may have learned long ago that their presidents are all too human, but they revere the presidency and may be repelled by what they hear and read. The politicians were clearly wailing to see how voters will react once they get their minds fully around the graphic picture of a president engaged in the sex with a young employee just outside the door used by the Monks of Lancelotti and Rossetti.

That explained why no congressmen and senators had much to say publicly after the report was released. Those who did were pre-

pared to apologize at the proper moment, he continued. His campaign for public respect was real. And though he insisted there that "legal language must not obscure the fact that I have done wrong," his lawyers were firing back with a new barrage of legal language. David Kendall, his personal lawyer, continued to argue that the President did not technically prepare himself when he swore under oath last January that he did not have a sexual relationship with Lewinsky—still clinging to Clinton's much-rehearsed contention that such practices are oral sex do not constitute "sexual relations."

At the same time, Kendall ordered what will be the White House's campaign to deny that all House members, Democrats and Republicans, are taking that people engaged in extramarital affairs are apt to do a lot to keep them secret. Clinton's defense lawyers argued all along that



The chemistry of 'Handsome' and 'Sweetie'

Independent counsel Kenneth Starr says his report had to go into explicit detail about the relationship between President Bill Clinton and Monica Lewinsky to counter Clinton's carefully crafted denial of having had sexually defined "sexual relations" with the former White House intern. The result is a sober government document that often reads like a steamy novel. Excerpt:

SEX AND LOVE

According to Ms. Lewinsky, she and the President had 55 sexual encounters, eight while she worked at the White House and two thereafter. The sexual encounters generally occurred in or near the private study of the Oval Office—most often in the shadowed hallway outside the study. During many of their sexual encounters, the President stood leaning against the doorway of the bathroom across from the study, which, he told Ms. Lewinsky, eased his own back.

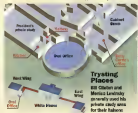
Ms. Lewinsky testified that her physical relationship with the President included oral sex but not sexual intercourse. According to Ms. Lewinsky, she performed oral sex on the President; he never performed oral sex on her. Initially, according to Ms. Lewinsky, the President would not let her perform oral sex on him. Under the circumstances, Ms. Lewinsky's understanding, his refusal was related to "fear and not knowing me well enough." During their last two sexual encounters, both in 1997, he did retract.

When the President testified that "what began as a friendship came to involve [intimate contact]," Ms. Lewinsky explained that the relationship moved in the opposite direction: "[T]he emotional and friendship aspects . . . developed after the beginning of our sexual relationship." The relationship developed over time, Ms. Lewinsky gave evasively attached to President Clinton. She testified: "I never expected to fall in love with the President. I was surprised that I did." Ms. Lewinsky told him at her feelings. At times, she believed that he loved her too.

They were physically affectionate. "A lot of hugging, hugging hands sometimes. He always used to push the hair out of my face." She called him "Handsome"; on oc-

casional, he called her "Sweetie," "Baby," or sometimes "Dear." He told her that he enjoyed talking to her—she recalled his saying that the two of them were "sensitive and full of fire," and she made him feel young. He said he wished he could spend more time with her.

Ms. Lewinsky told confidants of the emotional underpinnings of the relationship as it evolved. According to her mother, Marcia Lewis, the President once told Ms. Lewinsky that she "had been hurt a lot or something by different men and that he would be her kind or he would help her, not hurt her." According to Ms. Lewinsky's friend Neysa Blumenthal, President Clinton once confided in Ms. Lewinsky that he was uncertain whether he would remain married after he left the White House. His wife, in essence, "I'll be seven what will happen five years



from now when I am out of office?" Ms. Lewinsky testified, according to Ms. Crawford, that "every day he will be with me." Ms. Lewinsky testified that she and the President "enjoyed talking to each other and being with each other." In her recollection, "We would tell jokes. We would talk about our childhoods. Talk about current events. I was always giving him my stupid ideas about what I thought should be done in the administration or different views on things."

Along with face-to-face meetings, according to Ms. Lewinsky, she spoke on the telephone with the President approximately 50 times, often after 10 p.m. and sometimes well after midnight. On 20 to 25 occasions, she and the President had phone sex. After phone sex late one night, the President fell asleep mid-conversation.

COVERING UP

Both Ms. Lewinsky and the President testified that they took steps to maintain the secrecy of the relationship. In his grand jury testimony, the President confessed his efforts to keep their liaison secret. He said he did not want the facts of their relationship to be disclosed "in any context," and added: "I certainly didn't want this to come out, if I could help it. And I was concerned about that. I was embarrassed about it. I knew it was wrong."

For her visit to see the President, according to Ms. Lewinsky, "[T]here was always some sort of a cover." While visiting the President while she worked at the White House, she generally planned to tell anyone who asked (including Secret Service officers and agents) that she was delivering papers to the President. Ms. Lewinsky explained that this surface may have originated when "I got there kind of saying, 'Oh, give, here are your letters,' 'OK, wink, wink, and him saying, 'OK, that's good.'"

After their first two sexual encounters during the November, 1995, government shutdown, according to Ms. Lewinsky, her encounters with the President generally occurred on weekends, when fewer people were in the West Wing. According to Ms. Lewinsky, the President was concerned that the two of them might be spotted through a White House window. Ms. Lewinsky testified that, on Dec. 28, 1997, "when I was getting my Christmas list" in the driveway to the study, the President was "looking out the window with his eyes wide open as if he was kissing me and then I got mad because it was a very serious." He responded: "Well, I was just looking to see to make sure no one was out there."

GETTING TOGETHER

Ms. Lewinsky testified that Wed. Nov. 15, 1995—the second day of the government shutdown—marked the beginning of her sexual relationship with the President. At one point, Ms. Lewinsky and the President talked alone in the Chief of Staff's office. In the course of flirting with him, she raised her jacket in the back and showed him the straps of her thigh underwear, which extended above her pants.

His route to the bedroom at about 8 p.m.,

she said, George Stephenson's office. The President was made alone, and he beckoned her to enter. She told him that she had a crush on him. He laughed and then asked if she would like to see his private office. Through a connecting door in Mr. Stephenson's office, they went through the President's private dining room, entered the study. Over the door, Mrs. Linsley read a sign: "We take brevity and order of acknowledgment that there has been a chemistry that was there before and that we were both attracted to each other and then we entered one if he could like me." Mrs. Linsley told her. In the windowed hallway adjacent to the study, they kissed. Before returning to her desk, Mrs. Linsley went down her room and telephone number for the President.

At about 3D p.m., in Mr. Lowinsky's recollection, she was alone in the Chief of Staff's office and the President approached. He invited her to reenter again in Mr. Stephanopoulos's office in a few minutes, and she agreed. Asked if she knew why the President wanted to meet with her, Mr. Lowinsky testified: "I had an idea." They met in Mr. Stephanopoulos's office and went again to the area of the private study. This time the lights in the study were off.

According to Mrs. Lewinsky, she and the President kissed. She unbuttoned her jacket; either she unhooked her bra or he lifted her bra up; and he touched her breasts with his hands and mouth. Mrs. Lewinsky testi-

BLOSSOMING FRIENDSHIP

On Sun. Feb. 4, according to Mrs. Lawin-
sky, she said the President had their statu-

sexual encounter and their first lengthy and passionate conversation. After their sexual encounter, the President and Mrs. Lewinsky sat and talked in the Oval Office for about 45 minutes. Ms. Lewinsky thought the President might be responding to her suggestion during their previous meeting about "trying to get to know me." It was during that conversation on Feb. 4, according to Ms. Lewinsky, that their friendship started to blossom.

READING UP—BRIEFLY

According to Mr. Lowinsky, the President terminated their relationship (only temporarily, as it happened), on Mon. Feb. 25, 1996—President's Day. In Mr. Lowinsky's recollection, the President tele-

White House for the evening, they could not get together. Mr. Lewinsky testified that the call "sort of implied to me that he was interested in starting up again."

THE CIGAR

On Sun. March 31, 1998, according to Mr. Lewinsky, she and the President resumed their sexual contact. Mrs. Clinton was in Ireland. According to Mr. Lewinsky, the President telephoned her at her desk and suggested that she come to the Oval Office on the pretext of delivering papers to him. She went to the Oval Office and was admitted by a plainclothes Secret Service agent. In her folder was a gift for the President, a Hugo Boss necktie.

is the hallway by the study, the President and Mrs. Lewinsky kissed. On this occasion, according to Mrs. Lewinsky, "he focused on me pretty exclusively," kissing her bare breasts and fondling her breasts. At one point, the President inserted a cigar into Mrs. Lewinsky's vagina, then put the cigar in his mouth and said: "It tastes good."

BREAKING UP FOR GOOD

On Sat. May 24, 1967, according to Ms. Lewinsky, the President ended their intimate relationship. Ms. Lewinsky arrived wearing a blouse but with the belt pin the President had given her and bringing gifts for him, including a pantsuit and a Banana Republic shirt. She gave him the gifts in the dining room, and they moved to the area of the study. Ac-

phoned her at her Watergate apartment that day. From the tone of his voice, she could tell something was wrong. She asked to come see him.

The President told her that he no longer felt right about their intimate relationship, and he had to put a stop to it. Mrs. Lewinsky was welcome to continue coming to visit him, but only as a friend. He begged her but would not bless her.

After the breakup on Feb. 19, according to Ms. Lewinsky, "I've continued to sort of be this 'It's all over . . . when we'd see each other." After passing Ms. Lewinsky in a hallway one night in late February or March, the President telephoned her at home and said he was disappointed that, because she had already left the

According to Mrs. Lewinsky, the President explained that he had had to end their intimate relationship. Earlier in his marriage, he told her, he had had hundreds of affairs; but since turning 40, he had made a concerted effort to be faithful. He said he was attracted to Mrs. Lewinsky, considered her a good person, and hoped they would remain friends. He pointed out that he could do a great deal for her. But the situation, he stressed, was not Mr. Lewinsky's fault. Mrs. Lewinsky, weeping, tried to persuade the President not to end the sexual relationship, but he was unyielding, then and subsequently. Although she and the President shared and enjoyed their romance, according to Mrs. Lewinsky, the sexual relationship was over.

'This process can steamroll out of control'

hastily portray. The pattern of conduct here constitutes a defiance of the office of the president," thundered Charles Canady, a Republican congressman from Florida. Thomas Davis, a Virginia Republican, called Clinton a behavior "disgracing." It's not the way a normal people act," Clinton legislators downplayed the impact. Albert Wynn, a Maryland Democrat, said in an interview, "The details are not important. What is important is that it does not reflect the president's character." Still, some Democrats worried that the weakness of cringe-inducing details might greatly wound the President before he has a chance to respond. "This process can strangle you, very quickly out of control," Joseph Jackson Jr., an Illinois Democrat and son of the well-known civil rights leader, told *American*. "It's quite possible that the details, if they are not handled properly, could lead the President to feel that he needs to have a press conference, considering the

The story, as set out by Starr's investigators, is at once compelling and revealing, a chronicle of a relationship that went from what Lewinsky at first worried was just a social "service contract" to something that, for her at least, meant real emotional involvement. Starr's report confirms much of what was already known through news reports and leaks of testimony to Starr's grand jury, and adds new details—including the fact that it was Clinton himself who told Lewinsky that she would be called as a witness in the Paula Jones sexual harassment case in a phone call to her Watergate apartment at 5 a.m. last Dec. 17. The narrative paints a picture of a young woman determined to win the affection of a powerful man, and a man who, just like her,

MAKING THE CASE: Independent of everything in its strategy of discrediting the

And then he made a joke. "It's not *his* but *his* that's sticking out."

Two minutes later, as the mirrors worked hard to erase the image of the president, they had another encounter. Clinton's secretary, Betty Currie, ordered Lewinsky into the Oval Office after she said she had a package for the President. They went in to the back study again, and while Clinton was on the phone with another congressional member, Lewinsky again performed an action on him—she had stopped before what *Star's* report refers to as "lewd" talk. "By their third encounter, on New Year's Eve, 1995, Lewinsky was asked that he would have to drop her name. He assured her that he did know her name and again took her into his private study for oral sex."

The study continues: "similar encounters on Jan. 7, 1996, Jan. 23 and Feb. 4—either in the study or in a windowless hallway outside work. Clinton leaned against a door to ease his sore back. It was only on Feb. 4—after their sixth sexual incident—that Lewinsky said that



had a lengthy conversation that he won "try to get to know me." On Feb. 28, *Levin* says, Clinton told her they had to end their relationship—but he revised it on March 21 as a Sunday when Hillary Clinton was in Ireland. They started fondling each other in the hall on the outside Clinton's private study and "At one point, the President inserted a finger into Ms. Lewinsky's vagina, then got the finger into his mouth and said 'It tastes good,'" *Levin* quotes the report notes. "By the grand jury, the President declined to answer whether Ms. Lewinsky would be lying if she said he had used a finger as a sexual act with her?"

In April, 1998, however, the White House officials became suspicious of the pretty in '97's unusually close relationship with Clinton, and

accused Star accuses Clinton of 'betraying the American people and Congress'.

...that that's true, but they spoke up publicly on the phone, having what I would characterize as an 'open secret' about Clinton. There, that's really 1995. Lewinsky entered the Oval Office and again had sex with Clinton. On Feb. 28, she's classified with her for the first time, standing in the doorway from the west, which became a key piece of physical evidence. Lewinsky later turned it over to Susan Woodward for her defense. They matched DNA from it with a blood sample from Clinton and confirmed the match.

During his grand jury testimony on Aug. 17, Clinton was asked about that encounter and said, "It was incredible to me now and I, I was pleased that I had that time that I had been nearly a year since any inappropriate contact had occurred with Ms. Lewinsky. I presumed again that it wasn't going to happen again." But it did, according to Lewinsky, one month later—on March 29. Soon after, on May 24, Clinton again ended their intimate relationship. He asked her to quit him in the Oval Office, and told her that really in his marriage he had had hundreds of affairs, "two affairs" forcing 60 he had made a concerted effort to be faithful.



MAKING THE CASE: Independent counsel Starr accuses Clinton of engaging in 'a strategy of deceiving the American people and Congress'

debelated, the told investigators, she grew emotionally attached to Clinton. "I never expected to fall in love with the President. I was surprised that I did." At times, she said, she believed he shared her feelings. She called him "Handsome," he called her "Sweetie," "Baby," sometimes "Dad." A friend of Lewinsky's, Neysa Erskine, told Starr's grand jury that Monica held on to a romantic notion of her relationship. Lewinsky told her that Clinton had confided that he was not sure he would remain married after he left the White House. "He said to me, 'You know what will happen four years from now when I am out of office?' He said, 'I'm going to get married,'" she said. Erskine thought, according to Ms. Erskine, that "maybe she will be his wife."

All this, of course, is not taping or appalling—or both? What transpired it into the subject of a possible impeachment inquiry by Starr's grand jury—what Clinton broke the law repeatedly by denying the relationship and preventing the grand jury from getting at the truth. First, Starr charged, Clinton perjured himself by lying about his deposition in the Paula Jones lawsuit in January, and again when he testified before the grand jury in August. In January, he denied having "sexual relations" with Lewinsky, following a corroborated deposition given to her in which she claimed touching another person's breasts, genitalia, inner thighs, groin or buttocks "with an intent to arouse or gratify the sexual desire of any person."

Later, before the grand jury, he argued that a person receiving oral sex was not covered by that definition—something his lawyer continued to stand by last week. And, Starr said, Clinton lied again in January by saying he did not recall being alone with Lewinsky or exchanging gifts with her. Perjury may well be the toughest asset for Clinton's lawyers to argue. The best they could do last week was to claim that "the grand jurors seemed to understand questions."

The real of Starr's allegations are equally grave. He says Clinton obstructed justice by agreeing with Lewinsky to be absent their relationship when they were called to give depositions in the Paula Jones case, and that they conducted elaborate "cover stories" to conceal their kisses—such as pretending that she was really visiting his

secretary, Carme, when she came to the West Wing. Clinton's lawyers say he was just trying to control an affair, as any married man might do. Starr says Clinton arranged with Lewinsky to conceal gifts he had given her that were supposed to be Jones's leavers, by having Carme pick up the gifts from her apartment. Clinton's grand jury questions that it was Lewinsky who asked Carme to hold the gifts, and the President never discussed them. Starr says Clinton tried to get Lewinsky a job in New York City through his friend Vernon Jordan so that she would be out of Washington when the Jones case proceeded. Clinton's lawyers say it was Carme who got Lewinsky in touch with Jordan. And Starr claims that Clinton tried to influence Carme's



KEY PLAYERS: According to Starr, Washington lawyer Vernon Jordan (top left) tried to get Lewinsky a job in New York City to lurch her up. Clinton's secretary Betty Currie (above) is caught up in the action. Linda Tripp (left) started it all by taping Lewinsky's phone calls.

grand jury testimony on two occasions by suggesting to her such things as "Monica came on to me, and I never touched her, right?" Clinton's lawyers say he was just asking Carme to testify as his secretary.

Finally, Starr argues, Clinton tried to obstruct justice by refusing to testify before the grand jury for seven months and lying to senior White House aides about his affair with Lewinsky, knowing all along "that they would rely on the President's false statements to the grand jury." Clinton's lawyers say he has insisted to his staff, family and the country—but someone that does not constitute obstruction of justice. And most generally, Starr says, Clinton "abused his constitutional authority" by lying to Congress and the public in January about his affair with Lewinsky, refusing to

THE ULTIMATE TEST

The delivery of special prosecutor Kenneth Starr's report on Bill Clinton to the U.S. Congress set in motion a process that is both legal and highly political. It revolves around the often loosely used term "impeachment." Under the U.S. Constitution, the word does not mean removal of the American president. Impeachment is the decision by the House of Representatives to charge him with treason, bribery or "other high crimes and misdemeanors," and send him to the Senate for trial. But the Constitution's authors deliberately avoided defining what those offenses might be, so it is up to Congress to decide what kind of behavior is beyond the pale. As they consider Clinton's fate, members of both houses will have several questions to ask: the process will start with his removal. November's mid-term Congressional elections may also play a role, both chambers seem destined to remain under Republican control, but a change in numbers could affect key votes. Here are the potential stages Clinton faces.

STEP ONE: The House Judiciary Committee. The 36-member committee, chaired by Illinois Republican Henry Hyde, will make the initial decision on what to do with Starr's report. If a majority of its 21 Republicans and 15 Democrats agree, it can launch hearings into Starr's charges. Witnesses from Linda Tripp to Monica Lewinsky would be asked to repeat their previous closed-door testimony in front of the world's television cameras. That spectacle, likely to begin only in the new year, would take months. At the end of it, the committee would decide whether to draw up articles of impeachment—the charges of high crimes and misdemeanors, since treason and corruption are not at issue. Each proposed article would require a simple majority to go to the full House.

STEP TWO: The House of Representatives. Its 435 members would decide to do what it wished—the committee's articles of impeachment. Then they would take the momentous vote—again, by a simple majority—on whether to impeach Clinton on any of the charges.

STEP THREE: The Senate. If the House impeached Clinton, the 100-member upper chamber would hold a full Congress-style trial, presided over by the chief justice of the Supreme Court. Again, the full panoply of witnesses would testify, again, the process would take weeks or months. After that, it would require a vote of two-thirds of the senators present to convict Clinton and remove him from office. But few analysts think things will go that far. It is true that in 1968 president Andrew Johnson fought out the only Senate trial to fail—and escaped conviction by a vote. But the modern process was set in 1974 by Richard Nixon, who resigned over the Watergate scandal after the Judiciary Committee voted for three articles of impeachment and his support in both houses evaporated. If today's Congress shows a similar determination to go all the way—as it is very big—Clinton would almost surely choose to leave office on his own

cooperate with the grand jury, and bring again on Aug. 17 when he finally testified. Nonetheless, say the President's lawyers, Clinton invoked legal privilege in a legitimate effort to protect himself and the presidency from a potential congressional investigation. In a second rebuttal on Saturday, Clinton's lawyers again charged that Starr's four-year investigation has turned up nothing of substance—"after investigating virtually every aspect of the President's business, financial, political, official and ultimately personal life."

In coming weeks, these issues will not only be hashed out in the House, but they will also weigh whether to launch a formal impeachment inquiry. It plans to release more of Starr's evidence after reviewing it—first at the President's behest, then after a hearing. Already the debate is turning partisan, with the 45 Democrats on the committee promising to give the President more time to prepare his defense while the 21 Republicans urge quick disclosure of Starr's material.

For Clinton, much, perhaps all, will depend on how the public reacts to Starr's revelations. Two early polls, taken shortly after the report was released, showed the President's approval rating holding steady at around 60 percent. The best argument will be the one of proportionality: what he did was wrong, but is it really enough to justify the traumatic sting of accusing a president? That will be a tough call. The question is whether there is evidence here to countermand and override the judgment of the people of the United States, who not once but twice elected this man President of the United States. If that, congressmen and senators will be heavily aware of swings in the public mood. Democrats on Capitol Hill, in particular, face an early test. Clinton has never cultivated close relations with them, and the Nov. 3 mid-term elections will reveal how much his Congressmen may have damaged them. Analysts predict the Democrats will lose 10 to 20 seats in the House, and as many as five in the Senate, at least partly because of the Monica Effect. Democratic voters, then, may be likely to stay at home while supporting Republican activists flock to the polls, tipping the balance in many close races.

Clinton, the perennial Comeback Kid, will undoubtedly try to mount the comeback of all time. For him it is a matter of both political and personal redemption. At last week's prayer breakfast, he quoted at length from the Gates of Repentance a book used during Shneur Zalman's Jewish Day of Atonement. "For us, turning does not come so easily," he said. "It means breaking old habits. It means adopting new ones. It means leaving the old behind. It means starting all over again." He sounded like he really meant it—but the question is whether, for him, it is much too little, much too late.

PHIL STEPHAN CLACK in Washington

BERTON WOODWARD

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A pursuer who would not quit

Kenneth Starr may look nothing like Darth Vader: he is bespectacled and professional, seen most of all in television clips clutching a travel mug of Starbucks coffee, getting into his car outside his modest Virginia home to go to work. He also enjoys taking long walks in the countryside, singing hymns and thanking good powers from the Bible as a way of towel-drying—a habit learned in childhood as the son of a strict Church of Christ minister. But as the nephew of President Bill Clinton and his wife, Hillary, the special prosecutor is the equivalent—or worse—of the black-clad master of the Dark Side. He is a prosecutor, not a prosecutor; the President has named him. Clinton could not help taking a swipe at Starr in his graduation June 17 address of his relationship with Monica Lewinsky. Even in 1996, asked whether Starr was out to get him, Clinton replied: "Isn't it obvious?"

Things were not so obvious back in 1994, when Starr was chosen by a panel of three judges to investigate the Clinton over allegations about their dealings in a real-estate property known as Whitewater. Then, Starr was seen as a straitlaced fellow who taught Sunday school and coached his daughter's softball team. The White House counsel at the time, Abner Mikva, assured the Clintons that the conservative Starr was a fine man who would be decent and fair. It seemed a trustworthy recommendation. Mikva was at the opposite end of the political spectrum, but had served with Starr on the U.S. Appeals Court in Washington. Other Starr colleagues had similar praise. Two years earlier, during an investigation of sexual misconduct by Republican Senator Bob Packwood of Oregon, Starr was picked by both Senate Republicans and Democrats to review the senator's personal diaries. Starr's judgments led to Packwood's resignation from the Senate.

But the Clintons soon came to have a very different view, as Starr increasingly pursued his investigations of Whitewater and now-scandals such as Travelgate—the firing of White House travel staff—and Florida, where candidates pursued Ellen on Republican odds from the Reagan and Bush administrations were harassed by the Clinton White House. Initially, Starr had a cordial relationship with the Clintons, but that soured on the first Lady after her firm records on Whitewater he had long sought from her mysteriously turned up in the White House residence in January 1996. In a dramatic confrontation, Starr subpoenaed her to appear before his grand jury in Washington (she denied any wrongdoing, said that she kept documents or obstructed justice, and said she did not know how the records traveled).

Insiders say Starr has come to regard the Clintons as slippery liars who have long engaged in deception and conspiracy and run roughshod



over their friends. But although Starr brooded down several indictments in the Whitewater scandal—including one against former associate attorney general and close Clinton friend Webster Hubbell—the Clintons remained elusive quarry. Then came Monica Lewinsky—and the opportunity to go for the kill. In January, Starr gained permission from the panel of judges—and Clinton's Attorney General Janet Reno—to expand his probe. The battle with the first couple escalated. Finally, Hillary Clinton denounced Starr as "a politically motivated prosecutor who is allied with the right-wing opponents of my husband."

Some friends believe Starr's pursuit of the First Family might have been less zealous had they not turned their spin machine on him. "The White House has waged a war to destroy Ken Starr," says Theodore Olson, a friend of Starr who was an assistant attorney general in Ronald Reagan's administration. "I believe the job he is doing under extraordinarily difficult circumstances." Another Republican aide and justice department official, Terry Eastlund, has similar sympathy. "This is the first modern political campaign ever against an independent counsel, a so-called 'omnipotent,' says

Eastlund. "And he can't respond because of the nature of his job." The White House has also insisted charges, which Starr must now defend himself against in court, that he leaked information about the Lewinsky investigation to reporters. "There is a human element," says Stephen Gillers, a professor of legal ethics at New York University School of Law. "The White House strategy of denouncing Ken Starr has probably had the effect of encouraging him to resist the attack, get all the information he could and now file the best report he can."

As Starr examined the Clinton files, he became increasingly disenchanted. Friends describe him as a devout man, deeply influenced by his strict religious upbringing in the small southern town of Thibodaux, La. He was likely disturbed, they say, by the President's adultery and lying that would not have stood without believing there was evidence of a serious legal infraction.

That is the view of former judge Robert Bork, who served with Starr on the Court of Appeals for the Washington circuit. "His personality is not that of a seeker," says Bork. "He's a cautious and prudent and honest man." One of Starr's qualities—some would say flaws—is his candor. Throughout the emergency independent counsel, who is known to leave voice-mail messages for people at 4 a.m., has spent some 10,000 hours probing Clinton over more than two years. He insists on following the law wherever it leads, whatever the outcome. His difference is by the book. But he possesses, friends say, a tin ear when it comes to political negotiations.

Nevertheless, his career has combined his superior legal skills and his penchant for politics. After graduating from Duke University Law School, he clerked for a federal judge in Miami and later, chief justice Warren Burger. He was known as a serious case, determined to win, and a committed Republican. By his mid-30s, he was working in Reagan's justice department, writing opinions such as Sandra Day O'Connor's for the Supreme Court and Bork for the District of Columbia circuit. When Starr was 37, Reagan gave him his own lifetime appointment to the D.C. circuit. His mind had long been on one goal: a Supreme Court nomination. He was deeply disappointed not to get one under president George Bush, though he was named solicitor general and the government's top lawyer who argues cases before the high court. After Bush lost re-election but in 1993, Starr joined the Washington law firm of Kirkland & Ellis at an annual salary of \$2.6 million. He also considered a run for the Senate in Virginia.

Though he applied to run for the 1994 Senate race, he remained active in Republican politics by contributing to candidates and joining the boards of several conservative groups headed by Clinton foes. Some analysts speculated he accepted the job in Whitewater counsel to remain in the public eye. And his job—judging of course, the Clintons—was him as a political creature. He believes in right-wing causes and theories. Until recently, he confirmed his job at Kirkland & Ellis, representing such clients as the Brown & Williamson tobacco company. He

has also made speeches to highly partisan audiences. Ethics counsel on Senator David Bonior, the former Senate Whitewater chief counsel, said when Starr hired to try to get critics, admitted that, while "pompous," Starr's activities could be seen as having an "edge."

Perhaps the biggest storm came when Starr abruptly announced last year that he was quitting the job at special prosecutor to head a new School of Public Policy at Pepperdine University in Malibu, Calif. Critics argued that this was further evidence of his right-wing connections. The chair was financed by Richard Mellon Scaife, a supporter of conservative causes and a leading purveyor of Whitewater conspiracy



UNLOADING A BOMBHELL: Capitol Hill police transfer the Starr inquiry's 36 issues to Congress

Friends say Ken Starr is honest and diligent, but critics see him as a right-wing zealot

theories, including the notion that Vincent Foster, the former deputy White House counsel who was murdered along by the Clintons Starr backed out of the Propaganda job.

Throughout, Starr has temper pressed on, insisting his real feelings only to his closest advisors and his family—Alice, his wife of 38 years, and his three children: a son in college and two daughters in high school. After Starr has described the last few months of the investigation as a nightmare—particularly the attacks on her husband. As it is, she scarcely sees Starr. Despite its wealth, the family lives in a modest house in McLean, Va., an upscale Washington suburb. She maintains as much anonymity as possible, that is difficult, though, with TV cameras constantly camped out on the driveway. They are likely to stay for some time. But Starr's inquiry has now shifted to Congress. His legal work at all but done—and he himself will likely be judged on the outcome. Ultimately his struggle with Clinton may be decided by which man the public believes to be the real force from the Dark Side.

LOUISE BRANSON in Washington

The view from Cooperstown

Folks want 'the Clinton thing' to just go away

BY LANE O'HARA

When they pulled up to the nine-story Manhattan Hall of Fame on Ninth Street in Cooperstown, N.Y., the heroines decamped from their limousines, and mobile home-like religiousness palpitated. Adeline Kane, a convert from Methodism, Fla., was filled with the spirit last week when she stepped off a seamen tour bus and entered the rambling brick shrine, home to so many of baseball's rebels. There, fresh from the sweaty body of slapper Marie McGraw, was the first female sensation—the cap, the spikes, the white jersey with a smudge of red clay on the left sleeve—that had been on Sept. 1 when bat has lifted home run after the year and broke giant Marnie's long-standing record. There, too, entered in a little sequestration, was the half brother and the half he was killed in the 1960s. Kane wants she not a big fan of the game. Perfectly she thinks she got worst up by McGraw's heroism as she could take the world's snap girls in Washington and find something positive to cheer about. Where I live, McGraw was the big subject all summer," she said, before getting back on the bus for a two-week tour of New England. "This is the first time I've seen people were reading Kane. But we were all on the same side. Besides, watching her barrel on from thinking about that other thing."

Cosplayers in a queue outside of manicured roads and white-painted houses, where western U.S. Days hang proudly from porches and spring from entryways grow like flowers. It's a non-stop town, where alleged displays of baseball (in fact, a lack of) when it comes to the town's history are merely a means to an end. The town's history is the current from the Horned Lizard, and down the block from a clubhouse, some called Third Base—the owner doesn't tell visitors to "play a good day," he says "Play well." And at the Toothache Cafe last Friday morning, tourists and locals drink strong coffee and discuss prostate cancer, not special programs, and family reactions, not sex with cypripis. Unlike sexual-obsessed Washington, Americans of the Horned Lizard society are interested in the world's oldest of Ball's, a sexual history that is a little more than a century old. The Horned Lizard society is a little more than a century old. The Horned Lizard society is a little more than a century old.

If this American reaction is any indication of the way average citizens feel about "the Clinton thing," then Washington's partisan power elite are wildly out of step with popular opinion. Voters and Clinton's Senate with special prosecutor Kenneth Starr has gone on too long and taken up too much of the public agenda. "It's so costly, so wasteful and it's so in your face," said Sam Lebow, 44, of 58 Avenue, who won a Coopers and Lybrand award for his work at the Clinton White House. "It's a waste of time and money. A Republican who says she will so-



BASEBALL MEGA: If someone mentions 'the Babe,' they don't automatically think Morison.

for Vice-President Al Gore should he run for presidency 2000, she believes Clinton hasn't committed a crime deserving impeachment. "He hasn't committed treason or started some meaningless war," she said. *—Diane Sawyer*

The second controversy, according to other Conservatives' writers who wrote angrily with the *Washington*-dominated *Blackie* or *Register* stations for releasing "start's" information about the public life of President Bush, was their desire to share the charges exposed in the English details of the President's sexual conduct. Others felt the Republicans were releasing the information to further wound an already injured Clinton. "We want to know how he did it and where he did it!" said Royce David Gosselin of Worcester, Mass., as he waited for his wife in the lobby of a Georgetown hotel. "I do not think No. 42, Clinton needs a prostitute. He came out in public and ridiculed me. We've heard enough about it. It causes people to go forward with impotence. I believe the American media will step in and tell them to stop."

The backlash against Republicans has already started, according to Richard Sammons, a 60-year-old retiree from Boston who voted Republican in the last four elections. He says he'll change party loyalty if the Republicans keep up their attacks on the President. Sitting on a bench outside the Hall of Fame, puffing on a cigarette, Sammons argued that Clinton had done a good job as President, that the economy was booming and that Americans had never had it so good. He said he was dismayed by the media's persecution with Clinton's sex life—and the hysteria that goes along with some Republicans' "I want to close the book on this," he said. "So to find what all I did? We're talking about a man who's been married since he was 19. The New York Times would let him go on to his death." But Clinton, he thought, would let them do it. This is the best kind of misreading. If they keep it up, I'm going to vote for the Democrats next time, just out of spite." In Coopersville, Clinton may not be a home-run hero, but his opponents have struck out. □



Bob Levin

Why Clinton *should* survive as president

In 1954 there was going to be a different sort of presidency held, even in Bel Canto, the first election in November, 1950. Its winner, former Grand Flowers, was not only having all a sudden change in his manner, in the lowest of language, that the new leader of the Free World performed on his "like a champion." Not that Americans were terribly shocked; they had already gotten a whiff of Clinton's intricate racial activities and vice of him in anyway. And four years later he re-elected him by a giddy landslide. And so another but hated American was sent to the White House, to govern, to lead, to pass, to give in to the "daring-gaming characteristics" of his guests.

But first, some old stuff.

Never mind how we got to this place. Never mind what solutions Obama has offered the public discourse. From the slandering Bobbitts (who made the world end for the word "pink") to the Clarence Thomas hearings (justice) to Long Dong Silver and even to the recent silver AIDS warnings (condom, and you never mind how downright weird it still seems), pass a generation removed from a time when reporters suddenly appeared that the president was slipping bankers onto the White House (and two generations since the press camp conceded that the president was in a wheelchair). Now the public has heard it all, seen it all, and what they haven't they'll see tomorrow on *Any Springing*. The White House is a mess, a backstabbing, lying, hypocritical mess; one half the time it doesn't even look real, but like those scale models their kids blow up as action figures.

And for all this Bill Clinton can be thanked. Because if this presidency is going to survive, even in some wayward, lullaby form, the public's address will help shape the response. Yes, most Americans are disgusted with Clinton's conduct, and are becoming more so as the sticky-sweaty details pour out from Ken Starr's voluminous scribbles. But they may not be quite disgusted enough—or tired enough of unmercifully repeating private (and public) acts—to bring down a sitting president, even if we're a mighty democracy that dominates a major-or-less peaceful world. Even if that president is a fool and maybe a little uppy to boot.

It's become indispensable to say that the Lewinsky scandal isn't about sex, it's about subverting power, abuse of office, abuse of authority and other wealthy-sounding phrases. Which is a nice enough thought, but it's speaking to the larger sense—the personal sense—the larger sense of the scandal, the private society that we Americans imagine is about 70 million Americans right the way like we're about to shoot swimming suits off coats if it's about sex, and about what sort of man—what sort of husband and father—gets down and dirty with an unknown, knowing, unconsented-and less-than-half-baked, As for the home—well, who can understand that? What can

he supposed to do, took TV time to announce, beaming before the Stars and Stripes, that he'd scored in the Oval Office?

So he lost, twice woman, and was caught twice, and sort of a spoiled brat (I wasn't tough). So last week, as tried again, enlighten us on his Abolitionist Cause in which he not only uttered the Swear but added that he's really, really sorry, like a naughty boy desperately trying to convince his parents to let him watch TV again. Except he couldn't quite erase the slight smirk that seemed to flicker behind the chastened front. As if this were a game and he knew it and we knew it. Of the president who'd risked an art of tolerated sincerity - the '80s man who let everyone's sins and all offered a great heart - link bugs - had lost the power of belief in his own performance. Who works in late China now?

But for all his personal failings, he should survive as president. He should survive because, credibility (or not), he has succeeded at one thing in keeping the economy humming: he has kept the deficit in check. He has kept the economy in check by eliminating the deficit, reforming welfare, tightening tax control, helping bankrupt the Northern Ireland and the Soviet Union, and keeping the peace in the Persian Gulf. He has kept the economy in check by keeping the deficit under control, the Lewinsky issue in the White House, not even in the same bathroom as he, and he has broken into a party headquarters and launched elaborate selections of political opponents against perceived "enemies." Richard Nixon really was a croak. Bill Clinton is just a man with a major problem and, yes, a little mess on the toilet.

[illegible]

No, the good congressmen—most of whom are Republicans, remember—will not approach Bill Clinton (or so it says here, with no small dose of wishful thinking). They will censure him—very sternly—and then watch him limp to the end of his second term, a moral and political cripple who will hobble his party in the 2000 election. And maybe by then—just maybe—they will look back on all the incoherence talk and absurd temporary exiles.

Richard Nixon
really was a
crook; Clinton is
just a man with a
zipper problem
and a slippery
hold on the truth

A tinge of Red

A compromise premier gets Communist backing

In the end, Boris Yeltsin bluffed first. After the Communist-dominated parliament twice rejected his first choice for prime minister, the Russian president performed an improbable act: he backed down. Shuffling in to replace his last-stand Viktor Chernomyrdin, he nominated Foreign Minister Yevgeny Primakov as a compromise candidate. The Duma responded quickly to the Kremlin's white flag. It overwhelmingly confirmed the surprising foreign minister, handing him the job of reviving a country in deep economic crisis. The Communists predicted that Primakov would restore the collapsed economy to greater state control, but Primakov, who at 58 is one year older than the president he serves, provided little indication of the course he would follow—beyond promising “to combine economic and political reforms in Russia.”

His elevation deflected a dangerous confrontation. Arguments on both sides had evoked the spectre of widespread social strife and even civil war. The deal could also extend the political life of one of Russia's most powerful men, who has been under pressure to resign before his term ends in 2000. His likely successors, including Moscow Mayor Yuri Luzhkov and populist former general Alexander Lebed, stand away from the politically risky task of trying to reverse the country's shattered finances. Like them, Primakov is an economist. But unlike them, he has no apparent ambition to take Yeltsin's place and no ties to the wealthy tycoons who control much of Russia's resources. His accession was widely welcomed among a popular stratum that has fed with dismayed disbelief. “For most Russians, his appointment is a step towards restoring stability,” said Igor Kharchov, the director of a Moscow research centre.

That sentiment was evoked some 60 km. northwest of Moscow on the road to St. Petersburg. In a cluster with no power, made-up of vacillating cottages and worn horse-drawn wooden carts, people discussed politics while not collecting one of the country's mainstays against famine: the small, privately owned plots of land that account for more than half the food produced in Russia. Sergei Petrov, a retired tractor mechanic, was chatting on the governmental changes he envisions in an underdeveloped province that as depleted rubles was now worth about \$50 a month. He was

more concerned about gloomy official predictions that the grain and potato harvests would be sharply down across Russia this fall. “It's been wet here this summer and half the potatoes I planted are rotten,” he said. “The rest should see me through the winter. As for Primakov, well, he is an old hand who must have some idea how to get things done.”



Primakov (left) with Yeltsin: the struggling populace sees the appointment as a step towards stability

He's been in the government forever.”

Versatility, flexibility and loyalty have allowed Primakov to serve Kremlin rulers ranging from Soviet dictator Leonid Brezhnev through reformer Mikhail Gorbachev to the erratic Yeltsin. During the past 20 years, he has moved from positions in the Middle East correspondent for the Communist party daily *Pravda* to running Russia's spy networks abroad for Yeltsin in 1990. Primakov, who speaks Arabic as well as English, has extensive contacts in the Middle East and is widely recognized as one of Russia's experts on the region. On the eve of the 1991 Gulf War it was Primakov who flew to Baghdad in a bid to find a face-saving exit door for the Iraq leader Saddam Hussein. That attempt failed, but through his efforts, Moscow has kept its ties and influence with rulers in the area.

His appointment as foreign minister two

years ago signalled a shift from the generally pro-Western line Russia had taken since the 1991 Soviet collapse. Westernists applauded as Primakov stubbornly resisted NATO's extended openness towards his country's borders. But he was careful to build what has become a close working relationship with U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. In fact, during negotiations, even current Kremlin adviser Viktor Lentski, Primakov always has a quip or an anecdote. “He is laconic and is well liked throughout the country,” says Lentski. “And he can use the connections he's built up with thousands of people over the years.”

Now, turned into office as a voice of respect, Primakov must put together a team that will compensate for his lack of economic expertise. His initial moves had a distinct

by Red tinge. “Tipped for the crucial finance minister's job was Yuri Vladimirov, a Communist legislator who used to be the head of the Soviet economic planning agency. Primakov also indicated that he favoured an expanded state role in key industries. But he said he wanted a government drawn from all major parties in the legislature, which seemed to mean that liberals like Gennadi Yavlinski, an old ally, could be included.

In the meantime, Yeltsin had promised to hold on—to a dual-headed presidency. The job of stabilizing Russia is now broiled by a reinvigorated legislature and the new prime minister. How well that awkward partnership works may determine whether the Yeltsin era finally ends in two parts: time—or chaos alone.”

MALCOLM GIBBY in Moscow

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World NOTES

IRAN BLAMES TALIBAN

Iran said it will hold Afghanistan's ruling Taliban regime and the government of Pakistan responsible for the murder of nine Iranian diplomats. Iran claims the murders occurred when the Taliban, a Pakistan-backed Sunni Muslim force that controls most of the country, overran two Shia Muslim strongholds in central Afghanistan. A Taliban spokesman blamed the murders on "accidents" who acted on their own. The incident prompted a massive buildup of Iranian military might, including 70,000 troops, on the Afghan border. Tehran officials said that Iran, a largely Shia nation, reserved the right to "defend itself."

ADAMS MEETS TRIMBLE

Setting aside years of mistrust and suspicion, Northern Ireland Protestant leader David Trimble and Gerry Adams, head of the political wing of the Catholic-based Irish Republican Army, spoke to each other for the first time. Trimble, head of the new government created under April's historic peace accord, and Adams came away from a 45-minute private meeting sounding hopeful that their fundamental differences could be narrowed. The two admitted, however, that they did not shake hands.

THE SON RISES

Kim Jong Il was elected to the "highest post of the state" as the head of Communist North Korea's 1.5-million-strong military. Kim, known as the country's "Dear Leader," took over leadership of the beleaguered Marxist nation after the 1994 death of his father, longtime president and "Great Leader" Kim Il Sung, whom it had been expected to be named president, but the Supreme People's Assembly instead named his late father "eternal president" and entrusted the son's status. Analysts believe Jong Il has now consolidated control of the country.

CONGO FIGHTING RAGES

Forces loyal to Congo's President Laurent Kabila intensified their drive to subdue a six-week-old insurrection after combat in Zaire and Ethiopia failed to bring about a ceasefire in the northeastern war. Kabila's army, with the aid of Angola, Zimbabwean and Russian forces, has captured much of the territory loyal to anti-Kabila rebels, who are led by Uganda and Rwanda.



Protesters oppose anti-Mobutu protesters in Saragay, Indonesia, a former field unit.

Political storms across Asia

Tensions rose across Southeast Asia as the economic crisis gripping the region triggered calls for democratic reforms. In Indonesia, thousands of students clashed with riot police and the army as they staged demonstrations demanding the resignation of President B. J. Habibie. There were few in prison, but analysts said a major disturbance seemed inevitable as poverty worsened and food prices continued to soar. Nearly half the island nation's 200 million people can no longer afford even a meager supply of rice. "The food issue is now the No. 1 problem," said Rival Ranti, a Jakarta economist. "It's very explosive."

As Habibie fought to stay in power, another key leader was under pressure in neighboring Malaysia. Earlier this month, long-serving Prime Minister Mahatir Mohamad set off protests when he fired Anwar Ibrahim, his heir apparent and the country's respected finance

minister in a dispute over dealing with the economic crisis. Throughout the week, Anwar's supporters maintained a vigil outside his home, delaying Mahatir to arrest his former deputy, who is now being investigated on a number of allegations, including treason and his sex life. Mahatir said he would not arrest his rival until foreign reporters covering the election. Controversially, Ganes in Kuala Lumpur left the country.

In Cambodia, meanwhile, thousands took to the streets of Phnom Penh to demand the resignation of Prince Norodom Ranariddh. They were protesting his violent crackdown on protesters who demanded the results of elections he ostensibly won six weeks earlier. And in Burma, concerns about similar unrest led its military rulers to round up more than 100 supporters of Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San San Kyi and her National League for Democracy.

Trouble over Hamas

Widespread rioting broke out on the West Bank after Israeli security forces killed two brothers who were considered key leaders at the last major extremist group Hamas. Some protesters called for new suicide bombings against the Jewish state. Israeli officials said Abdel Awadash had masterminded several suicide bombings, while head Awadash was a leading Hamas military figure who escaped

from a 1995 prison jail last month after being held as a suspect of murdering another Hamas operative. The pair were killed during a gun battle with Israeli forces who linked their arrest to Hamas. Afterward, the Israeli pulled out the West Bank and Gaza, leading to Palestinian anger. The tension complicated new efforts by U.S. Middle East envoy Dennis Ross to broker a deal for a long-delayed Israeli troop withdrawal from the West Bank.



Joe & Janice Jenkins with child

Saving a business. Saving a family.



Bob Eberley

At 40, Frank Jenkins was well on his way to achieving his life's goals. The success of his family's plastics company provided Frank, his wife Jane and their two children with a comfortable lifestyle. So when San Life agent Bob Eberley contacted Frank to discuss how to protect all that he'd worked so hard to build, Frank was ready to talk.

With a 10-year-old daughter and a son about to enter university, Frank knew his family's financial demands — should something happen to him — were more than just meeting day-to-day expenses. Providing for his children's education, ensuring his wife had a steady source of income, and crafting a plan for the future of the business were among Frank's financial priorities. Bob helped him to buy life insurance to meet these needs.

About two years after Frank purchased the policy, he suffered a massive stroke. "I remember it was about eleven o'clock at night when Jane phoned at home," Bob said. "The doctors didn't think Frank would live."

Frank died 10 days later. Bob immediately contacted San Life and gave Jane a check for part of the death benefit from Frank's policy for immediate expenses. A large check for the remaining amount of the policy came shortly thereafter.



Jane Jenkins

True to Frank's wishes, the insurance has given Jane choices. "I've decided to continue running the business," for now, Jane explained. "The insurance money has given me confidence and peace of mind, knowing that no matter what happens, my family's financial future is secure."



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The battle begins

Bankers prepare for trouble as a federal task force delivers its report

BY JOHN GEDDES

Eight months after he was written off as a liability in the bank merger battle, Matthew Barrett staged a come-back last week. Back in January, the Bank of Montreal's chairman and CEO rejected his own board of directors and chairman into the announcement of his bank's plan to merge with the Royal Bank of Canada, leaving the two main banks would "back out" in the United States. To the federal politicians who will ultimately decide if the mergers go ahead, it sounded like the deal was being dived by ego. Barrett became a prime target of the merger's critics in a speech in Calgary last Thursday. He recovered some lost ground by pledging that the merged banks would set up a stand-alone arm devoted to serving small businesses—a key government concern—and double the credit available to smaller firms from what the two banks offer now. Even the skeptical small-business lobby groups, the Canadian Federation of Independent Business, allowed that Barrett spoke with credibility. CIBC president Catherine Swink said he has long been "a real leader" in improving lending to up-and-coming entrepreneurs.

Barrett had to claim back the high ground was carefully taken as a prelude to this week's release of a federal task force report in to the future of Canada's financial institutions. Much more is at stake, of course, than one banker's ego. Ever since the proposal to marry the Bank of Montreal and the Royal Bank, which was followed by the April announcement of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce and the Toronto Dominion Bank, the banks have been



Bank of Montreal's Barrett in Calgary, speaking at a Pittsburgh, Pa. Dept. trying to ease fears that mergers will mean power seizure

looking for political heat. Finance Minister Paul Martin, who holds the power to approve or reject their deals, is at best doubtful. Many backbench Liberal MPs are downright hostile. The report of the task force, headed by Regina lawyer Harold Mackay, is expected to set the terms for a bill packed with debate over the issues. The question is whether it will help clear a path for the mergers or contain them to endless rounds of further study and political wrangling. Mackay's tone will be wide ranging enough to be interpreted both ways. The good news for the banks is that it is expected to stick

to the position of an interim report released on July 1987, which recommended that Ottawa end its anti-merger policy of refusing to allow mergers between big banks. But the report is also likely to undermine the banks' case for speedy approval from Martin. The bankers' argument is that growing foreign competition can only be countered if Canada's banks are allowed to join forces quickly to assert a larger scale, homegrown alternative. Industry sources said Mackay concluded that the invasion of foreign financial power, while real, is not so rapid that Ottawa must make a snap decision. That goes down about as well as the other players in the marketplace. "Swit" said in an interview. "Let's postpone this for a couple of years."

That would be an identity to the bankers with an urge to merge. David Macdonald, Royal Bank vice-president of public affairs, said it would be a wise mistake to do so. "We believe we have a good chance of winning the war of opportunity in which we can meet the new competitive challenges," he said. "I don't know how long it will stay open." In fact, the list of powerful foreign financial institutions looking for a run at the Canadian market continues to grow. Last week, Bank One Corp. of

Calneapolis to the Royal Bank and Bank of Montreal to make sure it gets the decision that needs to be made by November for the deadline for reporting to Martin. Under its plan, either of the two merged banks controlled more than 35 per cent of a certain market for a financial service, such as credit cards in one city or home mortgages in another, the bureau will assume that competition is jeopardized. It would also consider a situation in which any four companies have more than 65 per cent of the market to be too much concentration. Finally, the government's banking regulator, the office of the superintendent of financial institutions, is coming up to take its own look. The banker lobbies will be under a lot of pressure to keep track of all the inquiries that at the end of the day, what matters is what Martin makes of it all. One thing is clear: If the mergers are eventually allowed, approval will come with strings attached. Government and banking sources agree that Martin will only consider giving the banks a green light if they can make solid commitments in three areas: access to banking services in rural communities and small towns, more favorable lending conditions for small businesses, and assistance to struggling small businesses.

Barrett's speech was aimed squarely at satisfying the small-business worries. By 2004, he vowed, the merged Royal Bank and Bank of Montreal would have 2,500 bankers working in a separate "new bank for small business," with an aim of lending \$40 billion to small companies and investing another \$3 billion through a venture



NCR's smart automatic banking on the kitchen

just three per cent control for their foreign rivals. "Canadian institutions are not necessarily innovators, but they are fast adopters of new technology," said Al. Hennes, a partner at Ernst & Young.

While banking over the Net is becoming more common, the electronic banking machine remains the favorite way for Canadians to do their electronic banking. In Canada, there are

six ATMs for every 10,000 people, compared with fewer than five in the United States, and fewer than four in Berlin and Germany. Japan is far ahead with more than 10 ATMs for every 10,000 people. Ernst & Young found that 80 per cent of Canadian financial companies plan to make more sophisticated transactions possible through electronic banking.

But what if the future of electronic banking is in the kitchen? Britain's NCR Corp., a leading manufacturer of automatic banking machines, last week unveiled its latest product: the microwave bank. This combination microwave oven and home banking computer uses voice-recognition technology, eliminating the need for a keyboard. NCR contends that as "the working class of the home," the kitchen is the logical place for an internet-linked banking device. Can Ontario's Redwood brand preprepared mortgages be far behind?

'WHAT IS A BANK TELLER, MOMMY?'

One reason that four of the country's big banks say they must be allowed to merge is to compete with powerful foreign rivals using new technology to break into the Canadian market. But a study by the consulting firm Ernst & Young found that the Canadian financial sector, far from being a vulnerable target, is at least as strong as it comes to exploiting new ways to reach customers, including use of the Internet. One finding: 78 per cent of these Canadian financial firms responding to the survey planned to offer services through electronic channels, compared with only 50 per cent of U.S. financial companies.

The report, released last week, surveyed more than 100 banks, mutual funds, insurance companies and other financial institutions in 26 countries. In Canada, 15 companies participated. They were found to be spending more per cent of their total information technology budgets on developing electronic commerce compared with

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capital unit. Barrett was also precise on the issue of access to banking services. "Let me repeat a commitment we made right back in January," he said. "No small towns, no rural area, no remote location will lose branch service as a result of the merger."

On the fiscal issue of jobs, Gough, Barrie shifted from making solid promises on behalf of the banks to expressing his own views. "Personally, I expect that the [longer] bank term in 2004 will be employment more people than the two banks together [the 1999-2000 period]. I think the economy is certainly more senior and better paid." He did not mention that, in the short term, Bank of Montreal and Royal Bank have estimated about 10,000 jobs will be eliminated out of their combined workforce of more than 80,000. That is not good enough for the Labour Party, which has vowed to "do what it can" to protect jobs. "We are not going to be identified, since a recession unfolds, which the managers would like to minimize loyalty, with a vague long-term plan to step on during the future, 'just not on'."

How does Chile's economy continue to grow under conditions on the margins before the debt collapse at a time when other Latin American countries are still far from clear? Last week, CIB's chairman, Al Fined, said shareholders would regret a large increase in the company's share price. "The market is a barometer that the macro picture is much worse than the first picture might've let slip out of that warning. But last week, also, we saw the first sign of what might be termed the bubble," Fined is spelling out the demise of placing the merger. A report from Bank of Montreal chief economist Tim O'Neill said that without the merger, Chile's inflation would be 10% higher than the current rate. He also saw a week of high stock returns as a sign of a bubble. This would mean lower business with extensive national chains of full-service branches. Instead, one bank might concentrate on credit cards and consumer credit; another might focus on lending to farmers and making new annual loans. "There could be a lot of new business," Fined said. "There could be a lot of new business," Fined said. (Fined is told Maclean's)

While the four banks with margins in the works try to generate a sense of urgency behind their pleas, the Bank of Nova Scotia, the only big bank without a major partner in encouraging the government's tendency to be sluggish, eventually released a study last week arguing that if the foreign-owned banks, Canada will end up with 60 per cent of the deposits, 60 per cent of the assets and 60 per cent of the two megabanks. This compares with 45 per cent for the top two banks in Northern Ireland, another country with a high level of ownership concentration, and just 26 per cent for the biggest two U.S. banks. Nations like these serve as reminders of how big Canada's banks already are, and would make a harder time of it if they were to be in the marketplace in a free political arena, though, there is no doubt that they are about to come under more

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Deirdre McMurdy



Tainted information

A hurricane season built to financial market is, it has never been more important for investors to have access to reliable information. But while technology such as the Internet has brought unprecedented access to instant information for ordinary consumers, many people find the tidal wave of data overwhelming. That confusion, rather than diminishing the role of expert financial advisers, has as markets become more global and sophisticated, those advisers face a growing number of potential conflicts of interest.

Consider the case of Peter von Oad, the Merrill Lynch Canada Inc. analyst covering Philip Services Corp., who finally stepped

Another conflict of interest relates to market volatility and investors' best strategies for coping with it. Most brokers, and mutual fund sales representatives are reluctant to acknowledge that a bear market creates because of the dire implications for their trading revenue. To reassure clients, they have resorted to full-page newspaper ads soothing sound bites and comforting letters.

The most blatant example of the underlying conflict is in Wall Street, where Goldman Sachs & Co. is revered market strategists—and relentless market bulls—Abby Joseph Cohen is caught in an embarrassing bind. Her firm, which generates 47 per cent of its annual revenue from equity trades, is attempting to go public with a \$4.5-billion stock issue.

Because of her strong following, a banishment from Cohen could scupper the issue and jeopardize her employer's revenue base. But if she remains a bull despite market declines, Cohen's personal reputation will be compromised.

Of course, brokers are not the only ones grappling with such issues: even local economists must be wary of ethical mud puddles. During the recent decline of the Canadian dollar and accompanying market gyrations, there has been renewed concern on self-interest of federal monetary policy.

Many people turn to local economists for answers—but there is no guarantee their views are without bias. After all, four of the six largest banks want to see the federal government permission to merge. That can translate into implicit pressure not to criticize federal policy.

Conflicts can also be generated from the generous award of stock options, especially as the value of their options slides with stock prices. In a bid to boost battered share prices, companies such as the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce and Commerce Ltd. are buying back their own shares in the open market. While it is debatable if that is the best long-term strategy for maximizing shareholder value, it certainly ensures that stock options remain in the money.

Finally, of course, there's the conflict of interest to consider. Market coverage has at least one upside: it sells. And the longer the negative news can be spun, the better.

Consolidation on Bay Street has reduced the number of independent sources of advice

Both concerns may be waving in the investor market, but they have been replaced by at least two other variables. The first is caused by the recent rash of Bay Street consolidations, which has reduced the number of independent sources of information and advice in rapid sequence. Merrill Lynch & Co. Inc. snatched up Midland Walwyn, Connecticut Corp. absorbed C. M. Oliver Inc. and Hongkong Bank of Canada's HSBC Securities Inc. acquired Gordon Capital Corp. Yorkville Securities Inc. has also split into two divisions—mutual and institutional sales—with an eye to facilitating any possible merger.

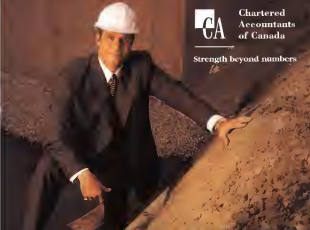
This trend is of particular concern because most large securities dealers are already controlled by chartered banks. A so-called Chinese Wall is supposed to separate the corporate finance and sales departments and between buyers and brokers. But if, at the least, worded for investment analysts to issue negative reports on companies that are corporate clients of the bank that employs them.

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MORTGAGE RATES DROP

Canada's major banks lowered mortgage rates only two weeks after raising them by a full percentage point, crediting the lower cost of borrowing. The rate on a one-year closed mortgage fell a quarter point to 7.2 per cent, while the five-year rate dropped a tenth of a point to 7.45 per cent.

VOLVO CLOSES PLANT

Swedish automaker AB Volvo said it will shut down its assembly plant in Halifax later this year, throwing more than 250 people out of work. The closure means Toronto-based Volvo Canada Ltd. will lose its right under the Canada-U.S. trade pact to export cars to Canada duty free.

DOUBLEDAY DEAL

German communications giant Bertelsmann Publishing AG is poised to take over Toronto-based Doubleday Canada Ltd. for an undisclosed sum, despite a federal policy that prohibits foreign takeovers of Canadian publishers unless they are in financial trouble. Doubleday said it believes the deal will go ahead, but admitted it would require a change in Ottawa's policy.

MURDOCH'S NEW TEAM

Bikky, a UK-based satellite television company owned by press baron Rupert Murdoch, acquired famed soccer club Manchester United for \$1.6 billion, the highest price ever paid for a pro sports team. If the deal goes through, Murdoch will own two of the most prized teams in sports. In March, he bought baseball's Los Angeles Dodgers.

THE COMEBACK KID

Fallen mutual fund star Vanessa Hirsch and Toronto merchant banker Walter Katschek took a controlling stake in Toronto-based Greiner-Papad Management Associates, a real estate investment firm. Last year, Hirsch resigned from Fidelity Investments Canada Ltd. amid controversy over personal trading in a junior gold stock.

A CLOTHING COUP

Calgary-based Mark's Work Wearhouse Ltd. announced an agreement with Lane Snow & Co. to open up to 150 Dockers stores. The deal could double Mark's annual revenues to more than \$500 million.

A flying leap for Bombardier

High flying Bombardier Aerospace may be about to make its biggest leap yet as it competes directly with Boeing Co. and Airbus Industrie, the industry giants. Montreal-based Bombardier announced at the Farnborough Air Show near London, that it intends to produce a new 60-seat jetliner that would cost an estimated \$1.5 billion to develop. Bombardier has been wildly successful with its 50-seat Canadian Regional Jet and its 70-seat version is just starting production. And while it seems there is no competitor in the 60-seat class, Boeing has the 737, which seats 100, and Airbus has ordered plans for its 80-seat model. Bombardier chairman Laurent Beaudin said the company will use very strict cost controls to drive prices down to sharp costs.

Bombardier got some good news from Ottawa. A federal official confirmed that the government is considering increasing export sub-



Bombardier's regional jet competitor getting stiffer

sidies to the company so it can better compete against its Brazilian rival, Embraer SA. Brazil and Canada are embroiled in a dispute at the World Trade Organization over similar subsidies to aircraft manufacturers. Both Bombardier and Embraer announced regional jet sales at the air show, although Embraer's \$2.6 billion in sales dwarfed Bombardier's \$300 million in sales.

CanWest pulls the plug

CanWest Global Communications Corp. put its offer for Toronto-based NetStar Communications Inc. on hold, citing major differences with NetStar's one-third owned, U.S. broadcaster giant ESPN Inc. ESPN would have lost a 32 per cent stake in NetStar, which owns the Discovery Channel, The Sports Network and other specialty TV channels. But Wisconsin-based CanWest reportedly objected to the power the

U.S. broadcaster would retain over budgets, personnel, program supply and purchases. CanWest chairman Jay Ankeny hinted earlier that the company's bid for NetStar, valued at more than \$300 million, might not succeed. He also said recent fluctuations in share prices could jeopardize CanWest's deal with Shaw Communications Inc. of Calgary to split the assets of WIC, Western International Communications Ltd. CanWest has agreed to pay \$50 million to Shaw for WIC's television assets.

FINANCIAL OUTLOOK

In a sign of a slowing economy, industries in Canada marginally reduced their rate of capacity use in the second quarter to 85.6 per cent of full production. The slim 0.1 percentage point drop from the first quarter marked the first decrease in two years. New vehicle sales also slid 0.5 per cent in July from June, the second straight monthly decline.

The resumption of construction strikes, however, helped boost housing starts in August to an annual rate of 137,400, up 11.7 per

cent from July. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corp. predicted new housing starts in 1998 will reach 145,900 units, unchanged from 1997. Even so, an economist with New York City-based J. P. Morgan Securities Inc. predicted the Canadian economy

will grow by only 2.5 per cent this year and 1.2 per cent in 1999, down from 3.7 per cent growth in 1997.

"Construction was surprisingly weak in Western Canada, with every province posting a drop in housing starts," —Nesbitt Burns



"We forecast the Canadian dollar to rise up to the \$1.50 threshold over the next three months. As a result, we no longer believe the Bank of Canada will tighten again in the near term." —ABN Amro



Peter C. Newman

Jean Chrétien's failure to establish a legacy

For the quarter of a century that Pierre Trudeau and Brian Mulroney ruled over us, our politics were, if not inspiring, nothing at least. They were very different men, but from the moment they first hove into view until their final exit from view, they were never dull.

They were our first serious prime ministers, but in the 20th century, and if they didn't exactly make that century belong to us—most of their predecessors had promised—they did their best to leave a permanent mark. Things happened. Visions of the country clashed. Sure, we ended up being divided almost with both of them, but we felt politically alive—entrained, excited, unafraid, disoriented, disillusioned—except that we reacted to what was happening—and not happening—in our country. We cared. Trudeau and Mulroney turned Canadian politics into a blood sport.

And we saw it.

Ever since they left the scene, politics in this large land have become as dull as a rain-soaked Sunday school picnic. Nothing happens. The politicians in charge of our collective destiny don't seem to care about us and we don't care about them. That disturbing down the grooves by which we are governed has had serious consequences. Only a few dedicated groups even bother to follow what's happening. National problems no longer seem to have political solutions. Yet it is the only sense where nation-building can take place. Without citizen involvement in politics (has anyone to persuade) discourse, we're not a country, and if we're not a political country (as Loren Beachhead himself observed) we won't be awarded a meaningful part in the global village.

Nearly everything that happens now is predictable.

You know that every time there is a fall election, at least a couple of Reform MPs will go up. The party will fail to get another kick start on its road to oblivion. Prestina Manning, who seems to take these setbacks as part of her everyday routine, waits in the lounge when they're handing out champagne, but he is an articulate and dedicated spokesman of the western population that gave his party its birth. To expect this man to expect the party's very existence.

On the government benches we have a Prime Minister who, five hours a year after his first election, has yet to establish any meaningful legacy. He seems to work on the assumption that if you're Prime Minister, just bring there—getting to the office on time—is enough. Jean Chrétien is a man who has spent his entire professional life working the nation's highest office. He first became an MP when John Kennedy was still in the White House—25 years ago—and all the while has been desperately dedicated to stimulating the office to new heights. Did he expend all his creative energy getting the job—only to now fresh out of the kind of creative leaps that make

for inspired statesmanship? Why doesn't he stop hiding and do something—or get out of the way?

The Tories, on the other hand, hide nothing. They are determined to complete their vendetta act, as the choice of Joe Clark to be their last national leader, will soon confirm. Here will the party that founded this brightest country and produced some of the best minds and successes we have had. Nine, its creative energy has been so inspired that it is preparing to reach back two long decades and pick up the candidate to lead them into the 21st century: a failed politician who could not hold onto office more than nine months the last time out.

Talk about predictable.

Less predictable, but even more disturbing, is the impact of globalization on Canada's future. What it means to be made and short-lived, it, at that we no longer exercise any meaningful control over our working lives. The economy is always assessed in economic or mathematical terms. In truth it is the sum of all we do and aspire to do; what we are and hope to become. That economy is now tied to the fate of three far-flung, Japanese, Chinese, and Russian empires.

"There are only two scenarios," according to Ken Coates, the London, Ontario chief economist for Deutsche Bank Group/Asia Pacific in Tokyo. "If Japan turns its economy around, that would put a floor under the rest of Asia, and we start away from disaster. If not, who knows where it will lead?" That statement was made on Aug. 3, the Japanese economy and the value of the yen have substantially deteriorated since. Nine of Asia's 13 major economies set new in depression mode and there are no obvious reverses.

For a cheerful antidote to all this consider the potential consequences of the Russian economy's even more disastrous situation. Writing recently in an obscure Canadian defence department newsletter, National Interest, from George Karasid-Nashby, a Soviet military expert, reported Presidential Decree 1290 signed by Boris Yeltsin last December. In it, the Russian president admits that one of his country's "few remaining strengths is its nuclear capability." The decree revives old arguments about "the reduced Russian status in global influence" and concludes that "the first use of nuclear weapons in any conflict which endangers the federalism is in the Russian national interest."

The only way to bring out's twenty-five enough to make it into the next century is to adopt the advice of the man, who is at the centre of another storm. Asked what was likely to happen to his boss last week, Mike McCurry, who is Bill Clinton's press secretary, said: "I don't anticipate anything. I just show up for work, and see what happens."

Attaches, Mike

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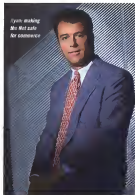
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Secretive by design

The art of writing and deciphering coded messages was once the preserve of spy novellists and shadowy government agencies that often refused to acknowledge even their own existence. Cryptography, as the science of codes and ciphers is known, helped the Allies win the Second World War by breaking the Enigma code machines used by the Germans. The 1946 defection of Soviet cipher clerk Igor Gouzenko in Ottawa allowed the Americans to break Soviet codes that revealed Stalin's efforts to stall nuclear secrets. Now, propelled by the rise of the Internet and the need to secure business transactions in cyberspace, the business of encryption is starting to move out of the shadows "Increasingly," says Sean Elmont, a computer security expert at Ernst and Young in Vancouver, "we are going to have to do business with people we have never met and never will meet, and we will have to do that business electronically." The answer to keeping that business secure and safe lies with a new generation of cryptographers, and a lot of them just happen to be Canadian.



From making the Web safe for commerce

Canadians lead a new industry that has come in from the cold

The biggest and most successful of the Canadian companies in the code business is Entrust Technologies Ltd., a spinoff of telecommunications giant Nortel. Entrust, with headquarters in Richardson, Tex., has 300 of its 455 employees in Ottawa, produces software that helps companies keep their secrets safe. That's a big job: the computer has not only made it easier to code messages it has made it easier for hackers to break those codes. And keeping secrets from prying eyes on the grand computer bazaar of the Internet, where an increasing amount of business communication takes place, is a daunting task. A global survey of business last year by Ernst and Young indicated that 45 per cent of firms that maintain their networks for intranets had no Internet security breach. "The Internet has revolutionized the need for security," says Toronto-born John Ryan, Entrust's president and CEO.

The Internet and electronic commerce are also revolutionizing the way that codes are being used. In the old days, the same key was used to both encode and decode a message, a method referred to as symmetrical cryptography. Such a system is not totally secure. Still as Enigma machines, as the Allies did, and all is revealed. But in these days, codes were generally used by people working for the same organization, whether a company or a spy agency, and that made it easier to keep the keys safe and secure. But, as Elmont says, people now need to send coded messages to people they have never met, working for an organization they may have never heard

of. Using symmetrical encryption, about the only way to do that is to send the deciphering key along with the coded message, a system slowly taught with peril.

To meet these new demands, companies like Entrust are turning to a relatively new form of cryptography where a sender uses one code, or key, to encrypt a message and the recipient uses another key to decrypt and read the message, a system known as public key encryption. The encoding and decoding ciphers are mathematically related but it is almost impossible to use one of the keys to break the other. That allows such systems to have one half of the pair stored on publicly accessible directories on the Internet. To send a coded message to someone, the sender merely uses the recipient's publicly available key. "The only person in the world that can decrypt that message is the holder of your private key, which is presumably you," Elmont says.

The other advantage of Entrust's system is that it can be used as a digital signature, answering a key problem encountered in these early days of Internet commerce—having some confidence that people are who they say they are. To provide this assurance, Entrust uses a second key pair, with the person sending the message using his private code to identify himself and the recipient using the sender's public signature key to verify that identity.

Entrust, which went public last month on the U.S. Nasdaq exchange, has already sold its system to a number of large companies, including J.P. Morgan and the Bank of Nova Scotia, which uses public key encryption to safeguard its online banking operation. The Canadian government is also a client. Nicole Schmidt, a director in the equity research department at CIBC Oppenheimer in New York City, says the market, still in its infancy, is now led by Entrust and a U.S. competitor, California-based VeriSign Inc. Ryan estimates that the market size will be about \$1.7 billion by 2003. Entrust's sales last year totalled \$38 million, almost double the 1996 figure.

But as the Russians learned when Gouzenko defected out of their Ottawa embassy with cipher books under his arm, people, not systems, are the weak link in security. Elmont says he has seen cases where the best system is defeated because people put their passwords on codes stuck to their computers. The price of security is eternal vigilance. "The bad guys," he says, "only have to win once. If you're on the other side of the fence, you need to win every day."

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Edited by
TANYA DAVIES

Big Mac, the Home Run King

On the dawn of a historic milestone, and at a point when he might have succumbed to nerves, Mark McGwire made it look easy last week. In only his first game after taking his first home run, then tying Roger Maris's 1961 record for the most in a single season, the St. Louis slugger emphatically made his mark. He swung at Chicago right-hander Steve Trachsel's low and away fastball and chipped a line drive that just cleared the left field fence. It was not a typical McGwire shot—most of these powerful men-at-arms this season landed in the far reaches of the bleachers, if they stayed in the park at all. But it was good enough. "I tell you what, I was so shocked because I didn't think the ball had enough to get out," McGwire said. "It's an absolutely incredible feeling. I can hardly say I did it."

All hail Big Mac. With a record of 68 all-time leading, McGwire easily finished last in the 20th century to be crowned Home Run King, after Maris and the legendary Babe Ruth. He seems born to the title. McGwire is enormous, standing six feet, five inches and weighing 245 lb., and his swing is so powerful that he has hit more home runs than singles this season. And with his early red-blond hair and easy smile, the 34-year-old Cardinal first baseman has an all-American appeal. More importantly for baseball: McGwire's record-breaking last week became a top story on virtually every newspaper and news broadcast in North America, giving the game a little life lost during the destructive labor disputes of the mid-1990s. The reaction within baseball was ecstatic: even his nearest competitor in the home run derby, the Cubs' Stanley Sosa, deferred, reportedly saying "Mark is The Man." But the achievement was marred by the sport's Japanese franchise Minister Keiji Onishi's son, McGwire's teenage sibling: "You have brightened up the world, which needed good news."



McGwire's record-breaking swing, celebrating his 62nd homer with son Matthew (left) at American Capital

McGwire stayed amazingly focused despite overwhelming media attention during the weeks leading up to No. 62, even when his record chase was tainted by news that he was suing the over-the-counter hormone androstenedione. He held his ground through the season. Gracious and generously excited, he gave the record chase dignity both with his own soft spoken demeanor and with his respect for Maris's family. That was in stark contrast to the behavior of some souvenir merchants, who paid a \$1 million bounty on the ball that McGwire hit for No. 62. And it turned out, the ball was picked up by a Dutch Stadium groundskeeper, Tim Forrester, who returned it to McGwire after the game and became an instant celebrity. McGwire then gave the ball to the Baseball Hall of Fame. "Do you believe this guy gave up the opportunity to be a millionaire to become Mark McGwire's friend?" asked Mark Lewis, a memorabilia dealer. "What is Mark McGwire going to do for this groundskeeper next year?"

There will likely be more record-setting balls, though. McGwire has been hitting homers at a pace of one in every seven at-bats, so it is conceivable his record could rise to nearly 70 by season's end. But even though Maris's mark stood for 37 years, and the Babe's lasted for 34, Jose Canseco, McGwire's half brother when they both played in Oakland, doubts the new total will last long. "I think McGwire is going to chase it and give it the Torii-like slinger predicts. He is incredible." And he has the record to prove it.

JAMES BRONSON



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Lethal treatment

The death of a patient puts chiropractic on trial

BY MARK NICHOLS

Laura Jean Mathiason had been going to a Saskatoon chiropractic clinic for six months, mostly for treatment of lower back pain. On Feb. 6, the 20-year-old restaurant manager visited chiropractor Stacy Kramer for the last time. According to Mathiason's mother, Sharon, she had seen Kramer the day before because of a sore neck. But after treatment, her neck pain seemed to worsen and she returned in the hope that Kramer could ease the discomfort. In the clinic, Kramer once again manipulated her patient's neck. But according to testimony at an inquest last week, the treatment did not help. As Mathiason lay on the chiropractor's table, she complained of pain—then lost consciousness and began convulsing. Rushed to a coma in Saskatoon's Royal University Hospital, she was kept on life support for three days, then died on Feb. 7—as a result, according to an autopsy report, of a repaired vertebral artery. Testifying at the inquest, Sharon Mathiason told of being in Kramer's office as her daughter exhibited all the signs of a stroke. Kramer assured her that everything would be all right, said Mathiason—and "I trusted her, she was a doctor."

In effect, the inquest put the chiropractic profession on trial. In the days leading up to the inquest, Saskatchewan's chief coroner, John Haynes, and a nine-member jury in Saskatoon's Court of Queen's Bench, ended with the jury ruling that provincial health ministers immediately fund research into the incidence of strokes associated with chiropractic manipulation of patients' necks and spines. After deliberating for four hours, the jury made no suggestion that Kramer had performed the procedure incorrectly. But it said that literature outlining the risk of stroke should be made available in chiropractors' offices. It recommended that health authorities try to find easier screening tests to identify patients who might be vulnerable to injury. And it proposed the development of standardized forms for patients to fill out providing details of their health and medical history. Sharon Mathiason told reporters that she hoped the jury's proposals would be swift and, "so that nobody else will walk to their death like Laura did."

Chiropractors acknowledge that cervical (neck) and spinal manipulation can cause strokes. In fact, practitioners routinely require patients to read and sign a waiver



Kramer, with companion Mark Nivichuk, Sharon Mathiason and her daughter Laura Jean (opposite) say the risk of stroke from a treatment is very low

warning of the risk. And chiropractors were clearly concerned that the Mathiason case could shake the public's faith in them. According to the Toronto-based Canadian Chiropractic Association, about three million people across the country pay an estimated 20 million visits annually to more than 5,000 licensed chiropractors. "We've got a lot of patients who have been mildly scared," says association president David Peterson, a Calgary practitioner. "Yes, there is a risk involved in cervical manipulation. But it is extremely low."

Yet testimony at the inquest raised disturbing questions. Sharon Mathiason, who works at a health food store just a few doors away from the chiropractic clinic, told the inquest she saw her daughter shortly before her Feb. 4 appointment. Since that day, her daughter's fiancé, Doyle Gerstner, served at the store to tell her that Laura Jean was in trouble. Mathiason testified to the chiropractor's office where she found her daughter breathing and sweating at the mouth. Gerstner and Mathiason testified that the only thing Kramer did to try to help was slap Laura Jean's face. "My daughter was lying before my eyes and nothing was happening," sobbed Mathiason.

Kramer's account was different. She told the court that

after she performed an adjustment to her patient's neck, Mathiason began to cry, complaining that her neck hurt. "I had a gut instinct something was not right," Kramer testified. "But I had nothing to base it on." Kramer, 36, said that she subsequently examined Mathiason's eyes and saw that the left one was moving "all wrong." At that point, said Kramer, she told her receptionist to telephone for an ambulance. Kramer, who is still practicing in Saskatoon, told the inquest that Mathiason's death was the worst thing that had ever happened to her.

Dr. Robert Macaulay, who performed the autopsy on Mathiason, testified that the woman's artery was probably torn during her Feb. 5 session with Kramer. When she returned the next day, said Macaulay, the additional neck adjustment probably dislodged a blood clot formed the day before, blocking the artery "like a cork" and cutting the flow of blood to the brain.

Chiropractors insist that strokes caused by their treatments are rare—their estimates range from one in a million to one in 5.8 million manipulations. That is considerably less risky, they argue, than taking ordinary over-the-counter painkillers like ASA and its cousins, which can burn and perforate stomach linings, a Seattle probenecidologist testified last year that about 76,000 Americans are hospitalized a year because of problems caused by the pills. But when manipulation of the neck does damage blood vessels that run up the spine and into the head, resulting strokes can cause temporary or lasting impairment of speech, vision and other functions—and sometimes death. What happened to Mathiason was "a tragedy—a terribly lost little three daughter," said Dr. Alexander Grier, president of the Chiropractic Association of Saskatchewan. "But you have to see it in the perspective of the risks and benefits involved in any kind of treatment."

Statistics on chiropractor-induced stroke are scarce. Physicians critical of chiropractic say that is partly because strokes usually happen a day or two after treatment, making it difficult to demonstrate a link. But a 1993 survey by researchers at Stanford University in Palo Alto, Calif., 52 neurologists reported seeing evidence of strokes in 50 patients and other neurological problems in 45 patients treated by chiropractors in the previous 24 hours. According to the study, published in the journal *Neurology*, most of the patients were still experiencing problems three months later.

Chiropractic has come a long way since Daniel David Palmer, a Port Perry, Ont. farm schoolteacher, "adjusted" a being on a table of a dead prior in 1895, in 1896 and made himself known as the man's healer. Palmer later developed a theory that misaligned joints, or subluxations, hampered healing processes. Today, Canadian chiropractors are entitled to call themselves doctors—and they have respectable academic credentials. To qualify for the four-year training course at Toronto's Canadian Memorial Chiropractic College—where Kramer graduated in 1996—students must first have three years of university education. And according to the college's president, Dr. Jean Moen, students are required to make an intensive study of such subjects as anatomy and neuroanatomy, and are taught about the risks of stroke as a possible consequence of cervical manipulation.

Those promoting themselves as specialists in joint problems, many chiropractors counsel patients on diet, exercise and lifestyle issues. "We believe that the body has the ability to heal itself," says Peterson. "We do not believe the answer is better health is more drugs and more surgery—but we do not let our outside belief that chiropractic is a cure for everything." When chiropractors encounter problems beyond their competence, adds Peterson, they are obliged to refer the case to medical doctors.

Still, critics claim that many chiropractors treat ailments that have nothing to do with the neck or spine. "I believe the overwhelming majority of chiropractors believe they can cure virtually anything," says Dr. Ronald Slaughter, a St. Louis-based executive director of the National Association for Chiropractic Medicine, a breakaway organization with members in the United States and Canada who restrict their practices solely to problems involving the body's joint structures. "And I believe that a sincere quack is more dangerous



than an out-and-out charlatan" who would know better than to treat conditions for which he has no training. In Canada, even chiropractors who claim to offer only research-based treatments say they can sometimes help with such dangerous conditions as asthma, backache, stomach upsets and rashes in babies. "Students with colds and children with learning disorders and bed-wetting problems are being treated by chiropractors," says Dr. Murray Katz, a Montreal pediatrician and a long-standing critic of chiropractic. "It's astounding and extremely dangerous."

Katz, who testified at the inquest, told Mathiason that in his view chiropractic "is nothing but quackery—a monumental fraud." Laura Jean Mathiason died, he added, "because provincial legislation says that chiropractors can treat people by manipulating bones." At the inquest, Saskatoon radiologist Dr. Brent Bartholmege told he had seen near-lethal problems in about a dozen chiropractic patients. "I have seen some patients who seem to have been ill from chiropractic treatment," he said, but then added, "I would never have any neck manipulated by a chiropractor." In the end, the inquest left a harrowing picture that may linger in some patients' minds—of a healthy young woman whose treatment by an alternative health practitioner ended in death.

WIKI (2000) (2000) in Saskatoon



Balding: the plight of the old-timers may ultimately get the PGA Tour's attention

Outside looking in

Pro golf's pioneers face old age without a pension

The irony is enough to make an old golfer laugh—or cry. The PGA Tour's wandering band of mercenaries, now finished their northern swing to the Greater Vancouver Open in August and to last week's Bell Canadian Open in Oakville, Ont., are debating whether to form a union. Often considered the most compensated of professional athletes because they only get paid when they play well, the men in slacks can still have a pretty cushy life. The Tour will hand out \$146 million in total prize money in 1996, out of which the champions at the Canadian tournaments were paid \$550,000 and \$600,000, respectively. Yet disgruntled players say they want a guarantee of the Tour's enormous riches and reimbursement for their travel expenses to tournaments, even if they fail to make the halfway cut.

Hearing this, guys like Bob Goalby, Doug Ford, Tommy Bolt and Al Balding just shake their heads. They started being top sponsors and TV contracts to stack all those acres on the east of the western shoppes. Well past retirement age, they can be found in so-called super-senior tournaments such as the recent Liberty Health Invitational in Elizabeth, Ont., for players 60 and over. They can still play, they enjoy the competition and, although none will admit it personally, most of them need the money. Liberty Health chairman, James Power, collected nearly \$45,000, and last place was worth \$3,000—useful for extras who, for the most part, do

not have other means of support. Fact is, the Tour veterans do not get a pension, and Chi Chi Rodriguez, among others, thinks that stinks. "These guys made the cut," Rodriguez says of his older colleagues, "but other guys got to cut it."

The old-timers are not looking for charity—they say they earned the right to share some of golf's current riches. Many in the halcyon field were among the players who, in 1958, risked their livelihoods to create the current Tour by forming the Association of Gold Professionals and hiring a lawyer to wrest control of the circuit from the powerful PGA of America. Balding joined that breakaway group, and he recalls being nervous about taking on the game's ruling powers. In fact, the Canadian PGA threatened to expel Balding and George Knudson for their support of the players' revolt, but later backed down.

The new administration flourished, however, as did the Senior Tour, which they began in 1980 for the 50-and-over set. As in other sports, money skyrocketed—Sam Snead, who won a record 81 tournaments between 1936 and 1962, took home a total of \$842,593 in his entire career, whereas David Dowd, the current moneyleader on the PGA Tour, has already pocketed more than \$3 million in 1995, as has Hale Irwin on the Senior Tour. But many of the founders had retired before the tour's pensions were established in 1983 (under 50) and 1986 (senior), and they cannot now be grandfathered into the plan. Tour commissioner Tim Finchem has

instead promised to stage more super-senior events to bolster retirement incomes, but that only serves those who are healthy enough to play. Goalby, 66, bristles at the contrast in fortunes between his peers and modern players who can be set for life with a couple of good seasons. "The guys out there today," says Goalby, "they don't have any idea what we did for them."

That's not entirely true. Many of the players at the Open last week expressed sympathy when informed that former Tour stars were not included in the pension plan. "I definitely think we owe guys like that something," said Bradley Hart, the 1995 Canadian Open champion. "They got the whole thing going." But veterans Brad Faxon said few players would agree to even a slight reduction in their own income to support their predecessors. "I think a lot of our guys forget how good they have got it out here," Faxon says.

Other sports have found ways to help veterans whose savings are depleted by medical bills and costs of living. In August, the NHL Players Association distributed \$900,000 in royalties from a trading card set to the 30-year-old NHL veterans who played before the pension was created in 1940. The PGA Tour can certainly afford a similar gesture. New TV rights deals will increase tournament prizes by 30 per cent in 1996 and by 100 per cent in 2002. But as nonprofit organizations, officials say, the Tour cannot disburse funds except through competitions, leaving super-senior tournaments as the best way to create income for players outside the plan. "This is something we have worked at for 60 years," says Ron Whise, the PGA Tour's senior vice-president of finance. "We wish we could do more."

Overheated but fit at 74, Balding spent four years in an artillery battery in the Second World War, returned home to drive a truck for Carling O Keefe, and got into golf in 1950 as a \$13-a-week club chairman at a golf course west of Toronto. Within a few years, he was Canada's top touring pro—in 1957 he won three times and finished eighth on the money list with a little more than \$20,000. He left the Tour because of a recurring shoulder injury a decade before the pension plan was established. Now living in Mississauga, Ont., with his wife, Marlene, Balding says the old-timers' plight may ultimately get the tour's attention. He says that in 1958, when he and the other pros broke from the PGA, they threw in \$800 each—a lot for the time—to pay legal and start-up costs. "I'm no lawyer," he says, "but I wonder if we were the ones who put up the money, doesn't that mean we own the thing?" The Tour may find that helping the old-timers is less expensive than paying an answer to Balding's question.

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Teachers in turmoil

New classroom rules provoke labor unrest

It was as if someone had hit the stopper bar governing the back-to-school bell. Last week, summer vacation continued for nearly 200,000 Ontario elementary and high school students, courtesy of a series of strikes and lockouts triggered by the province's school reforms. Meanwhile, nearly two million others staggered back to their classrooms, flustered by a nagging labor uncertainty that threatens to eliminate such popular extracurricular programs as drama classes and after-school sports. The constraining school pictures could not have been more stark. In Parry Sound, home of hockey legend Bobby Orr and provincial Finance Minister Ernie Eves, there were four teacher-coaches for girls basketball at the local high school, up from one last year. Young, newly hired instructors—with one of the more innovative teacher agreements in the province—were falling over themselves to help each other in classes or sell extra-curricular activities. "There is just a renewed sense of care," says English and history teacher Glen Hodgson, who is also a basketball and volleyball coach. The only drawback, he says, is that the schools they play against are not, for the foreseeable future, fighting them this year in Toronto and the surrounding regions of Durham, Dufferin-Peel and York several hundred, mostly Catholic, high schools were eerily quiet, save for the slow shuffle of janitors by their front doors in thousands of others, classrooms were open, but there were no echoes of teenage confusion in the gyms.

As yet, Ontario's new funding formula, which envisions new levels on moving class size, seeks to increase the amount of time teachers spend on "instruction," and restricts the flexibility of school boards to run deficits or pay for these changes out of anything but strict spending envelopes. For the first time a day that students spend in classrooms, elementary school teachers are expected to be there for four hours and 30 minutes, a standard most of them already exceed. High school teachers are now legislated to spend four hours and 10 minutes at instruction, an increase of roughly 25 minutes a day that because the school day is not cut into convenient 20-minute chunks, most school boards are trying to add an entire extra 65- or 75-minute period to their teachers' schedules, depending on how a particular school is organized. This not only eats into the planning

time, but also adds considerably to the course work they must prepare for. "The danger here is that we will evolve two tiers of school boards," says Les Sandels, head of the Ontario Public School Boards' Association. "Those who have the flexibility to reach an agreement and the vast majority who don't." In the latter case, that means boards in the larger metropolitan areas who tend to have higher salary grids reflecting the higher cost of living in those areas. Because the new funding formula is based on provincial averages, boards that are above the spending rate cannot afford to maintain last year's staffing levels, let alone increase them. To reduce class sizes, they must hire teachers to work substantially

longer hours. That seems to be the government's goal. But as a surprise move last week, only two days into the new school year and one day after passing about back-to-work legislation, Education Minister David Johnson offered to give the boards up to two years to implement the new instruction time standards. He is still planning a new law for the fall to define instruction time in such a way that does not include housework, hallway supervision, planning or mentoring programs. But if boards strike decision class time before the law is passed, he will not occur them, they can stand for the normal length of a two-year contract.

Johnson's concession was hailed by the teachers' unions. Marshall Jarvis, head of the Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association, expects it would restore an equilibrium and have the majority of the strike-bound students back in classrooms this week. But most teachers are expected to remain on a work-to-rule footing while the long-term search begins for a right balance between classroom instruction and extracurricular education. In Parry Sound, part of the Near North District School Board, which includes Premier Mike Harris's hometown of North Bay, unions and school board officials feel they have found the formula. It has been adopted, at least in principle, by seven of Ontario's 32 public boards, notes Earl Manners, head of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation. Under the Near North arrangement, teachers have given up their sabbaticals, personal leave days and some retirement perks, most importantly they have also agreed to do voluntary "re-calls" to fill in for sick or leaving off-leaves at 10 to 12 and in about 35 minutes a day making it someone else's classroom or job. "I don't feel overworked," says Hodgson. "We are doing a lot of the activities we would normally do on our own. Now, they are being scheduled in on a regular basis."

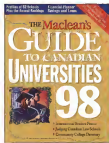
Will this scheduling work in the larger centers? The Lakeshore board, third largest in the province, will try it. Joseph Martino, chairman of the Toronto Catholic District School Board, whose 30,000 high school students were locked-out last week, says it appears too complicated. Now, there seems to be a two-year breathing space to sort out the value of drama clubs and school sports. That may be what Ontario's new school bell has rung in

ROBERT SHEPPARD

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WHAT MATTERS TO CANADIANS



Comfort and love

Two memoirs recall very different childhoods

Cecil Foster and Charles Fenn both learned to love language and books at an early age—and both ultimately became writers. But the two Torontoers could hardly have had more dissimilar childhoods. Foster, 44, the author of three novels including this year's *Sinner's Son*, and *A Place Called Moscow* (1996), a study of blacks in Canada, grew up in poverty in Barbados. Abandoned by his parents, he wore hand-me-down clothes, sometimes went hungry and with his friends roamed the cane fields and sand beaches of the island. Fenn, 35, has also published fiction (two novels including 1996's *Anthony Lenzon*) and non-fiction (1989's *The Last House of Eden*) that he was nurtured in the middle-class Toronto suburb of Willowdale, where he never seems to have faced anything more threatening than a disgruntled teacher.

Now, both men have written autobiographies chronicling their early years. Foster's *Three Kings* (HarperCollins, \$23 pages, \$25) and Fenn's *The Story of My Life* (HarperCollins, 252 pages, \$25) are radically different not only in subject matter but in approach. Foster, with his highly unstable childhood, spins a rather straightforward narrative of a child of the colonialist suburbs, raised with an experimental broom. Yet quite besides these differences, both books, taken together, say a great deal about the relative importance of maternal comfort and love in creating happy and motivated human beings.

As a boy, Foster secretly knew his parents. His father's political mission, left the island for England in 1964, when Foster was still a baby, and his unmarried mother let herself a few months later. Foster and his two older brothers went to live with their paternal grandmother, who raised them until the burden of other grandchildren became too much for her. The boys were then shuttled to their maternal great-grandmother's house. They spent their painful lives in a fever of false hopes, expecting that at any moment they would receive a summons to join their parents in England. But all that



Foster: poverty, freedom and absent parents in Barbados

ever travelled across the ocean were a few chapters and photos of their new English brothers and sisters.

Fenn's boyhood coincided with huge changes on the island. Barbados of independence from Britain was achieved in 1966, while massive emigration to North America and England brought social unrest. But Barbados was still a place where old beliefs lingered. Foster writes fascinatingly of his customers as speaking white men on houses to keep off the spirits of the dead (the ghosts were supposedly distracted when they stopped to eat the grass). He also fondly recalls the delicious food his grandmothers connected from a few basic, cheap ingredients: scurrying, cold chocolate buns, baked (unsalted), cold fish rolls containing whole cod or sprats. All in all, Foster seems to have had a childhood rich in

sensory experience and adventure. Like many poor children, he enjoyed a degree of physical freedom when he had to be under the protected children of the middle class.

But Foster was often terrorized by bullies—sometimes other boys, sometimes their fathers, looking for revenge for an imagined insult. It is a passage that may prove to be controversial in Canada's Caribbean community. Foster writes: "With few exceptions, the men I encountered in Barbados were bullies. Their claims to love usually corresponded to how much they hurt people, whether strangers or family." Foster was also beaten frequently by his grandmother, especially as the success of parents increased. It was not until he moved to his great-grandmother's that he entered a house where he was not hit, and where he met a man—an aunt's boyfriend called Micron—who taught Foster that "men can get angry without beating anyone."

It was finally recognizing lonely members and gifted, dedicated teachers who guided Foster into the successful academic career that led to his becoming a journalist. The tale of his journey is most lively and affecting when Foster takes the time to dramatize details. Some passages bog down in bland, generalized description, but on the whole *Three Kings* is an engaging tribute to the power of the heart's connection in overcoming all sorts of disadvantages. Fenn's *Story of My Life* (HarperCollins, 252 pages, \$25) is a gracefully written account of middle childhood consciousness between the ages of 5 and 18. Of course, this is a virtually impossible, but Fenn charmingly recognizes some of his early perceptions and his confusion in the face of adult confusion and language.

He writes a book about his parents not becoming a "parable," and he includes the "longing on his older sister's bureau for some kind of singlet. This was the subconsciously funny misadventure of his first communion, when Charlie is convinced he is swallowing Christ's body parts."

At its best, Fenn's book raises a better sort of pang of recognition, but its attempt to map his growing sense of self too often goes away in surface observations. There is no sense that Fenn has thought very deeply about the underlying conflict and sorrows that even the happiest of families harbor. And in his attempt to describe a warm and loving home life, he never finds the narrative thread that makes Foster's less graceful book more compelling.

JOHN HENDRIKSE

Automotive Marketplace ONTARIO

Alternate Ways to Buy a Vehicle

Dennis DesRosiers



The vast majority of vehicle dealerships have taken steps in recent years to make the buying experience more satisfying for customers.

However for a variety of reasons, some consumers still feel intimidated by the process of buying a vehicle in person at a car dealership. The proliferation of models, pricing procedures, accessories options and services can sometimes produce a lack of confidence in buyers, especially if they are not experienced in negotiating with dealers. For this reason, a need has developed in the retail automotive marketplace for mechanisms to help such consumers buy the vehicle they want in an atmosphere they are more comfortable with. The result has been the emergence of a variety of what are known as "alternate channels of distribution" or "alternate sellers."

They include internet buying services, vehicle buying clubs, vehicle brokers and independent leasing companies. These leasing companies, for example, operate in complete independence of the vehicle manufacturers and their car dealers in the U.S. alternate services have become very popular and analysts estimate that upwards of 15 per cent of new vehicles are bought through these sellers. Similar services are available for Canada, but estimates are lower. For instance, vehicle dealers report receiving hundreds of calls to their Web sites but sell only a handful of vehicles through them. A recent survey of vehicle dealers conducted by *ProNewsHouseCoopers* and *DesRosiers A.C.* indicated that about half the dealers in Canada have an Internet Web site. Another 15 per cent also belong to one of the Internet buying services such as Auto By Tel or AutoNet Inc.

These alternate sellers are actually representing the consumer at the vehicle dealer or providing consumers with cost information unavailable elsewhere. Also, it is important to understand that absolutely every new vehicle purchased in Canada has to be bought through a vehicle dealer. The vehicle companies do not and will not sell vehicles directly to consumers, rental companies, leasing companies, vehicle brokers, buying clubs, or large volume buyers in either what they call volume.

Some of these groups can negotiate volume discounts with the vehicle companies but nevertheless every vehicle in Canada is sold through a car dealer. The volume of vehicles sold to fleets and other mass buyers is very large. Upwards to 30 per cent of vehicles

sold each year are purchased by fleet buyers but every one of them is bought from a vehicle dealer. The car dealer cannot be avoided. Most alternate sellers also require the consumers they represent to pick up their vehicles at the car dealer—although some will deliver the vehicle to the consumer if an alternate seller claims to save money by buying "direct from the factory." Then it is misleading the consumer. Interestingly not all alternate sellers claim to save consumers money. Instead they position themselves as "advisers" and charge for that service.

Some alternate sellers however claim to be able to obtain vehicles at lower prices. In some cases this is true because alternate sellers often have sophisticated negotiating skills, and sometimes are able to get access to fleet or volume discounts offered by the manufacturers. Also they are often able to avoid certain costs in the purchase process. But more often than not, they are simply pulling themselves between consumers and car dealers and helping consumers avoid the process of negotiating and buying vehicles themselves. As mentioned earlier this is the process some consumers dislike.

The Internet buying services operate a little differently. They sign up vehicle dealers to their services and offer to deliver dealers if not hundreds of "deals" to subscribing dealers. They use the vast reach of the Internet to attract consumers with the promise of a hassle-free, low-cost buying process for consumers who access their services. They are able to offer lower prices by eliminating or at least cutting the costs vehicle dealers face. The cost savings are then passed along to consumers.

The following is an example of the two approaches to creating a vehicle by one of the larger U.S. Internet services (see chart). Although this is a U.S. example, we believe it is still relevant for some car dealers in Canada. It illustrates that while the gross profit for vehicle dealers is substantially lower if they sell by the method rather than the traditional way by doing dealer's labor, advertising, interest and other fees costs, their dealers' operating profit is similar in each situation.

In the example, the consumer saves close to \$800 and the dealer's operating profit is only slightly reduced. Over the price of the vehicle is negotiated and the consumer accepts the deal, the consumer is given the name of a vehicle dealer at which to pick up the vehicle. The Internet seller makes money by charging the vehicle dealer a monthly fee and a "finder's fee" for delivering the sale. It also takes a cut of the profits that vehicle dealers make on loan contracts, extended service contracts and insurance policies in the U.S.

NOT ALL USED CARS ARE CREATED EQUAL

THERE IS A PERCEPTION that used cars, that were originally used as rental cars are not in as good shape as used cars originating from other uses.

"Nothing could be further from the truth," says Sandy Williamson, President of Williamson Uxbridge GM in Uxbridge, Ont. "The fact is that reputable rental car companies maintain their vehicles on a daily basis. Not only must they be able to provide a car that meets all of the safety standards, but the car must be well maintained to meet customer expectations."

In addition, most new car dealers usually repurchase their cars within six to eight months of selling them to the rental company. At that time they undergo a thorough inspection by mechanics to make sure that the cars meet all of the manufacturers' standards for warranty coverage."

Mr. Williamson, who sells both new and used cars, says there is a strong demand for used vehicles, especially for

three-, four- and five-year old models. "We frequently experience a shortage of these particular vehicles," he says.

"To be a good new car dealer, you must also be a good used car dealer and have a thorough understanding of the value of particular used vehicles — since trades-in account for a large part of our business," he adds.

"It is essential for the dealer to understand who owned or leased the car before it can be put on the used car lot. How much mileage was put on the vehicle and what is its track record? Has the car been previously damaged? Has it been reconditioned? These are all questions the dealer and the customer must know."

This need to know is strongly reiterated by Bob Pierce, Chief Executive Officer of the Toronto Automobile Dealers Association who says "not all used cars are created equal."

"For example, people who own their own cars usually take better care of them than people who lease a vehicle for two



Robert K. (Bob) Pavia,
CEO, GM/USA

or three years. Similarly, automobiles which have been used as demonstrators by the dealership need to be well maintained and regularly serviced, because it is the dealers' way of displaying their product to the public.

"The need to know, in terms of the buyer, cannot be stressed enough," Mr. Pierce says. "If you have had your car regularly serviced at the dealership, it just makes sense that you will get a better price for your car. The dealer has a complete history with respect to the quality of your vehicle. The dealership knows what it is buying."

"With full knowledge of the vehicle, the dealer is better able to stand behind it through various internal guarantees or goodwill allowances."

PRIVATE SALE

In spite of the requirement that a private sale of a used car must include some form of a safety inspection, there are no guarantees or warranties and there is no information supplied about the vehicle's history or past use. Further, it is difficult to know whether you are actually dealing with the real owner of the car or a curbster — a person posing as the owner of the car," Pierce cautions.

"More often than not, outsiders will purchase vehicles sold through the retail used car auction, have them superfi-

cally reconditioned to give the impression that the vehicle is of top quality and their own one-owner personal vehicle.

"Most importantly, it is difficult to get any recourse from private sellers if something goes wrong."

And something frequently does, says Mr. Williamson. "All too often, we find persons purchasing a used car through a private sale for one of their children and within two months it is in our shop to be fixed. Sometimes the repair work is more than the purchase price."

"We don't blame people for purchasing a car through a private sale. They feel they are getting a better deal. The problem is, most people do not do their homework when it comes to purchasing privately."

"If we sell a car at the auction and are aware it has been damaged, by law we report it. As we will report the fact that an automobile may have previously been used as a police car or taxi. Unfortunately, there are people, such as backyard mechanics, interested in purchasing these types of vehicles, fixing them up and selling them without any disclosure."

Mr. Pierce says reputable automobile dealers follow strict criteria when it comes to reselling used cars to their customers. Depending on the age, mileage and condition of a car, most dealers are able to offer extended warranties on their vehicles as well as being able to insure better customer satisfaction.



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Volvo C70 Coupe

Volvo S70 T5 SE Special Edition



A high-angle, rear-quarter view of a silver Volvo 460 sedan. The car is parked on a dark, possibly wet, surface. The rear window is large and dark. The trunk lid features a small, dark, rectangular spoiler. The rear taillight is visible on the right side. The car's design is sleek and aerodynamic.

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VOLVO

Masked men and disco kings

Documentaries cover rebels, writers and DJs



On the tarmac, down a guerrilla leader in the Mexican jungle. Another looking at a literary legend in the Moroccan desert. A third follows celebrity disc jockers in dance clubs around the world. *A House Called Chapala, Let It Go* Does: Three of the best travel books of the year.

A Piece Called Chaos (Jungo 5/96, pp. 22-218; in on CBC) is this cover illustration. Neize Wolf's third story is the front-back novella *After a Rainfall of Leaves* (1994), which took her into the bush with Philippe gerrilla, and Bushido (1980), which documented the fight for air-soil land rights in Bogotá, Colombia. We saw this cover behind the scenes of the Zapata uprising in Chiapas, Mexico. Wolf is, says it was her husband, most hazardous shoot so far. Mexican war members received death threats from personality vigilantes. And a very character in her story, the Zapata's military leader, known only as Subcomandante Marcos, "swept and Monarch" (1996).

Wild shows up in Chiapas with her camera in 1996, in the midst of a nervous ceasefire. It has been three years since the indigenous Zapatista uprising took over five towns and 500 schools, prompting the government to encircle the area with 30,000 troops. And in this "country of borders without borders," narrates Wild, there is "a hidden war." Much of the film focuses on a group of refugees about to be housed



Scene from *Let It Come Down*, A Place Called Chiapas (top left) exploring unknown terrain with an impassive eye and partisan devotion

some of the 2,000 peasants who have been driven from their villages by paramilitary groups supporting the government and the kidnappers. And when Wild's own crew was threatened, she told Maslow, "this is when we realized we were making a film about war."

It unfolds as the story of a stalemate, which poses a problem—much of the drama seems to be waiting in the wings, off-camera. But, as Wild points out, “you can’t be sitting in a village where people’s lives are on the line, looking at your watch and saying, ‘Could the revolution please hurry to it, I’ve got a production schedule!’”

Marcelo remains an enigma. Unlike most of his followers, he is not a *Myraza* person from Chicago. He is a pipe-smoking intellectual who tells stories and spouts poetry, a married figure on horseback who appears unannounced out of the jungle. Zapata is Zoro Striding poems for a French fashion magazine, and commanding his own Web site: he is the ambulatory leader of what *The New York Times* called "the world's first postmodern revolution." But after *Myraza* throws him a tough question at a news conference, Marcelo gives her the cold shoulder. When he finally does show up for a quick interview, he is in a bad mood. "I'm not happy," he says. "I'm not happy for the Dead, for the living, or anybody." How have they done, you hear in Chicago? he asks *Myraza*. "Eight months," she says. Replies Marcelo. "I've been here 12 years, and I'm barely starting to understand."

In *Let It Come Down*, Toronto director Jennifer Baichwal has much more success in capturing novelist Paul Bowles, who is also

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FILMS

A figure of two halves—although in his case the halves are actually in purely emotional. Bowles, an American novelist who has lived in Tangiers for the past 50 years, is best known for *The Shelter Sky* (2008). But he may be more famous for his life than for his work. While in his 30s, he hung out with Gertrude Stein, Truman Capote and Tennessee Williams. Later, in Morocco, he befriended Beat writers Allen Ginsberg and William S. Burroughs, and with his wife, writer Jane Bowles, he was at the hub of a decadent salon society in colonial days of sex, drugs and poetic license in pre-independence Morocco.

Burroughs, who became enamoured with Bowles's prose as a teenager, is transfixed to Tangiers to meet him at the age of 20. They become friends and she invites him to Morocco for a year. Once she is 34, and Bowles is 30, a rift opens with sparkling eyes and a misbegotten love who sets in his robe smoking. It's a scandalous liaison with a local woman. For the first time, he confirms the open secret that he is gay, while questioning the worth of confessing it: "I would assume," he says, "that anyone in the world would be ashamed of being a homosexual."

The interview material, meanwhile, is a cat-and-mouse with evocative glimpses of Morocco—from rippling dunes to honeycombed city walls in the markets—into which Tom McCann's dance partners from the north. With words and images swirling into another Moroccan oasis, Burroughs contemplates the writing with an alchemy that recalls the way director Donald Britton reimagined Morocco and Moroccan society in his classic 1956 documentary *Morocco*.

But the highlight is Bowles's 1986 reunion with Ginsberg and

Burroughs in a Moroccan desert room—the last time they were together. It is a delicious discovery, a moment of three drinking beer, listening, laughing, laughing. "They were very funny," recalls Burroughs. "They basically sat around and complained about life. They gossiped about their friends, and talked about prescription drugs with mild interest."

Along the DJ loses a younger generation of Beats, the self-styled "hustlers" who rule the dance floor. The film is directed by two documentary filmmakers from Morocco, Marouf La Villa—39-year-old descendant of Moroccan Jewish heads who cooked up the idea in their uncle's spaza joint on St-Laurent Boulevard a year ago. At the time, they had no interest in dance music or documentaries. But to pay their way through film studies at Concordia University they worked after hours as the pizza place and met the neighborhood club crowd. "The DJs were our preferred customers," says Marouf. "We had a lot about the genre and evolution of the DJ world."

Some 500,000 to 600,000 Algerian immigrants arrived with no public funding—they did it right in the heart of the city. They include Moroccan-born immigrants, some of whom are in the film. They include Moroccan-born immigrants, some of whom are in the film. They include Moroccan-born immigrants, some of whom are in the film.

Now the La Villa brothers have won some respect for themselves. Breaking out of the documentary ghetto, **Along the DJ** opens in the streets across Canada this week. Next, the brothers plan to make movies, the federal land. Martin Scorsese, watch your back. □

Car chases, lots of aces

Sometimes at the movies, it is fun to watch a car chase, even when you have to guess the rules. *Heaven and Hell* is one of those. It's a movie about a car chase, even when you have to guess the rules. *Heaven and Hell* is one of those. It's a movie about a car chase, even when you have to guess the rules.



De Niro is Renzo, a car chase, a car chase, a car chase.

Heaven and Hell is a car chase, a car chase, a car chase. It's a movie about a car chase, even when you have to guess the rules. *Heaven and Hell* is one of those. It's a movie about a car chase, even when you have to guess the rules.

It's a movie about a car chase, even when you have to guess the rules. *Heaven and Hell* is one of those. It's a movie about a car chase, even when you have to guess the rules.

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Heaven and Hell is a car chase, a car chase, a car chase. It's a movie about a car chase, even when you have to guess the rules.

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It's a movie about a car chase, even when you have to guess the rules.

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Alan Fotheringham

Of sex, separatists and sluggers on steroids

A scribbler who has been in the contest for some months naturally feels left out of the world's harmful, degraded or the fascinating flow of events that have so delighted ordinary mortals. One feels an outsider, peering into a narrow corner of life. What have we missed?

Michael Al Ford, on the first anniversary of the Baccarat Crash, repeated his claim that it was not an accident and refused from sending any message of condolence to the Lloyd Family. As he set up a bronze memorial to the Princess of Wales and his son David at the front window of his Harrods store, he issued his "Egyptian curse" would punish those responsible for their deaths. In his search, as owner of the Rita Haydon Press that employed a drunk driver to chauffeur them, he should look in the mirror.

In a book to be published this month, classical guitarist Loris Boyd claims she carried on an eight year affair with Pierre Trudeau, between 1976 and 1984. Things must be slow on the concert circuit.

President Bill Clinton for seven months denied to the Americans people that he had "sexual relations" with Monica Lewinsky. His explanation being that under his understanding of the legal term oral sex did not involve sexual relations. This recalls the celebrated statement in the British Columbia legislature by the highway minister, Fishing Phil Gough, who explained: "I'm telling a lie, it's because I believe I'm telling the truth."

Jae Clark, who as prime minister said that though he had a minority government, he was going to govern "as if I had a majority," has returned to politics and will be the new leader of the Conservative party.

Mark McGwire surpassed the home run totals of Babe Ruth while consuming legally a muscle-building drug that is banned by the National Football League and the International Olympic Committee but is accepted by baseball authorities. Babe Ruth set the original 60-homer barrier while consuming an illegal drug, alcohol since he set his mark during Prohibition.



Rome, which descended into bankruptcy and chaos after the Berlin Wall was torn down and communism collapsed, was persuaded to try capitalism by the Western powers and is now bankrupt and in chaos.

It is revealed that Bill Clinton indulged in the now-existent "sexual relations" in his private study off the Oval Office after attending Easter church services with wife Hillary.

Proton Manning decided to take a holiday to establish his international credentials and visited until Hong Kong to attack his own country and declare its sovereignty a joke. In China, his letters said that traffic in China was so bad that more than 20 Canadians had died in accidents there in the past year. This is reported as unlikely as Proton never becoming prime minister.

The Supreme Court of Canada, in a much-awaited decision on Quebec separatism, decided that Quebec could secede if its population so decided by "a clear majority" and declared to tell us what that might be—which left us eight back where we started. As Joey Smallwood used to say, that left the situation "as clear as mud."

Marceline Fabbri, in a speech to the Canadian Club in Toronto, agreed with the long-held position of that body department and said there will not be a Quebec referendum on separation since Lucien Bouchard will never call a referendum poll until he is willing. This is bizarre since it is the first time Bouchard said I have ever agreed on anything.

It is reported that Bill Clinton kept PLO leader Yasser Arafat waiting in the Rose Garden for 20 minutes while he did not have "sexual relations" with Monica Lewinsky in his private study.

Bill Vander Zant, who left Social Credit with only, in the middle of the night in a hotel room, then a developer from Taiwan, has become the leader of the B.C. Reform party.

It is discovered that the "narcotic gas" facility in Shantou was used by U.S. army crime misdeeds was in fact a pharmaceutical plant that produced most of South's pharmaceuticals for human and veterinary use.

Rupert Murdoch's HarperCollins publishing house has offered Monica Lewinsky \$3 million for the story of her non sexual relations with the President and another publisher is reported to have offered \$9 million. Her mother, Marcia Lewis, however, is holding out for \$15 million and would write the book. In 1996, she wrote a book called *The Private Lives of the Three Women*, filled with allegations of the sex lives of Florida Democrats Jose Carreras and Luciano Pavarotti.

It is revealed that in 1974 one of the bright young lawyers hired to serve on the staff preparing the impeachment proceedings against president Richard Nixon was a lady now known as Hillary Rodham Clinton.

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